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VILLANOVANS
AND EARLY ETRUSCANS

Oxford University Press

London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen

New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town

Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai

Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY



CAERE. Bronze bowl and stand from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb

VILLANOVANS AND EARLY ETRUSCANS

A Study of
THE EARLY IRON AGE IN ITALY
as it is seen

near BOLOGNA, in ETRURIA
and in LATIUM

by

DAVID RANDALL-MACIVER, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A.



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WILLIAMSON

P R E F A C E

IT is my purpose in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, together with another volume now in preparation, to furnish professional students for the first time with an ordered and detailed account of the principal Iron-Age material existing in the museums of Italy. A similar service has been admirably performed for the Stone and Bronze Ages by my life-long friend, Prof. T. Eric Peet, and it was only when it became certain that he had no intention of treating the subsequent periods that I felt myself at liberty to undertake a task which I had dreamed of during many years. The moment, now that it has come, is exceptionally propitious, for archaeologists outside Italy are beginning to awake to the urgency of mastering the problems involved; while in Italy itself the careful and patient labours of two whole generations have borne fruit in the accumulation of an immense mass of valuable material. A great proportion of the excavations and their results has been described with much detail in private publications and official memoirs, particularly in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and the *Monumenti Antichi*. It is not every one, however, who has the leisure or equipment to master these technical records, and a considerable amount which is still unchronicled remains wholly unknown to those who are unable to pass long periods in the actual museums. Moreover, the published material, admirable and complete as it is, has never been gathered within the compass of a single volume, so that perhaps my Italian colleagues also may be glad to have in a compact form the principal points which are scattered over so many shelves of a library. Every Italian scholar who has written on this period and subject will, I hope, find his name and work duly mentioned in this volume or the next; and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing to each and all of them my thanks and my profound appreciation of their studies. I hope that they will regard this book as an honest and faithful attempt to chronicle and co-ordinate the principal results of their labours without either partiality or prejudice.

My principal authority in the case of published records has been of course the *Notizie degli Scavi*, and I wish to express my most cordial thanks to the

responsible authorities for their generous permission to reproduce a large number of illustrations from that very valuable official publication.

In my treatment of the exceedingly important site of Vetulonia I am deeply indebted to the kindness of the late Prof. Milani's family, who have allowed me to reproduce some beautiful drawings executed for his private publication, *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica*.

My obligations to other Italian authors or editors are duly acknowledged in the text of the volume. Outside Italy I have only one debt, but it is a very deep one. This is to the late Prof. Oscar Montelius, whose literary executors—the Swedish Academy—have generously allowed me to reproduce a number of drawings, some of them original, from the three-volume atlas of plates entitled, *La Civilisation Primitive en Italie*. This exhaustive work should be the incessant companion of all who are studying the Italian prehistoric cultures. It ranges from the Earliest Bronze to the late Iron Age, and is so complete that it can be used as a veritable dictionary of types. I have taken it as the standard of reference throughout this volume in the confident assurance that it will be found in every archaeological library. It is hoped that the accompanying letterpress, which is invaluable for the fullness of its bibliography, will be ultimately completed according to the intention of the great Swedish savant whose memory is so widely beloved.

In gratefully acknowledging the invariable kindness and courtesy which has been shown me by the authorities of all museums in Italy I desire particularly to thank the Directors of the Archaeological museums of Bologna and of Florence.

D. R.-M.

The original drawings of objects, and the copies of drawings—except when they are directly reprinted—have all been executed by Mr. F. O. Lawrence, A.R.I.B.A., holder of the Prix de Rome in the British School at Rome, 1922–1923.

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I

INTRODUCTORY

THE SITE OF VILLANOVA AND ITS PROBLEMS

It was in 1855 that the name of Villanova first became known to the archaeological world. Villanova is a hamlet situated on the banks of a little stream called the Idice, eight kilometres east of the city of Bologna. The property formed part of the estates of Count Giovanni Gozzadini, who was already an archaeologist of note and had long hoped to discover the remains of ancient cemeteries on his own lands. In May 1853 he received the welcome intelligence that an earthenware pot containing the remains of human bones surrounded by ashes had been found in the course of digging a trench at Villanova; and he then began a course of excavations, which lasted for two years and brought to light 193 tombs of a character hitherto unknown and unsuspected in Italy. The cemetery measured 74×27 metres in extent, and contained thickly concentrated burials not more than a metre apart. These were all of the same general character, consisting of a large earthenware jar imbedded in a layer of ashes about nine centimetres thick. Within the jar were a few human bones incompletely consumed by fire, and around it were several small vases of plain earthenware. In the bed of ashes or resting upon it were various small objects of bronze, iron, amber, glass, and bone, as well as some bones of sheep, oxen, wild-boar, and stag.

In 1855 Gozzadini published the results of his excavations in an epoch-making work entitled *Di un sepolcreto etrusco scoperto presso Bologna*,¹ which opened up the whole subject of the origin and connexions of the newly discovered civilization. At that time the study of prehistoric antiquities was still almost in its infancy. Keller's pioneer work on Lake-dwellings had only just appeared (1854), the terremare had not yet been discovered,² and little systematic exploration had been made of even the Etruscan sites in Italy. It was natural, therefore, that Gozzadini, 'groping' as he says for possible connexions, should have fastened upon the earliest Etruscans as the most likely people to have buried their dead at Villanova; and it is very creditable to his scientific judgement that he should have rightly dated the period to the 'first iron age'.

¹ Bologna 1855, 51 4to pages with eight plates. Supplemented in 1856 by a publication of fifteen pages and one plate entitled *Intorno ad altre settan-*

tuna tombe del sepolcreto etrusco scoperto presso a Bologna.

² They were first reported by Strobel and Pigorini in 1862.

It was not long, however, before a protest was raised against his Etruscan theory, and as early as 1856 Gozzadini was engaged in discussion with an anonymous critic, later identified as Professor Orioli, who attributed the Villanovan tombs not to any Etruscans, but to 'Pelasgians, Umbrians, or Aborigines' if not even to the Gaulish Boii. The suggestion as to the Boii was at once shown to be untenable; but the attribution to 'Pelasgians or Umbrians' has been longer lived, and marks the beginning of a controversy which lasted for many years.

In 1870, when Gozzadini made his presidential address to the Congress of Archaeology and Prehistoric Anthropology at Bologna, his view was unaltered and is concisely expressed in the brochure¹ which he published in French for the benefit of the members of that Congress. The Etruscan site of Marzabotto near Bologna had now been partially explored by Count Aria and described by Gozzadini,² who felt himself actually so much reinforced by the new discoveries as to write in these terms: 'Je dirai seulement que les explorations successives et régulières faites dans la nécropole de Marzabotto ont dévoilé une civilisation plus avancée et plus raffinée que celle qui résulta de la Nécropole de Villanova, mais que cependant il ne s'ensuit pas que l'on doive y reconnaître deux peuples de différentes races; car si la nécropole de Villanova appartient aux premiers temps et celle de Marzabotto aux derniers de la domination étrusque dans ces contrées la différence observée ne proviendrait que du développement et du progrès de la première et incomplète civilisation.'³

Nevertheless, since 1870 the trend of the best opinion has turned steadily against Gozzadini's theory. Extensive explorations, made principally by Zannoni and Brizio, have enormously increased the amount of comparative material, until Villanova has been shown to be merely one among scores of cemeteries round Bologna which witness to the existence of the same civilization. Every one of these cemeteries has been proved to stand on a site distinct from the Etruscan burials and buildings, which are often found in the near neighbourhood but never occupy the same place.⁴ And, finally, the *coup de grâce* has been given to the Etruscan hypothesis by the demonstration that no Etruscan colonies were founded in the Bolognese district before the end of the sixth century B. C., whereas the earlier periods of the Villanovan culture obviously precede this date by several centuries.⁵

¹ *La nécropole de Villanova découverte et décrite*, par le comte et sénateur Jean Gozzadini, Bologna, 1870.

² *Di un' antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese*, 1865, and *Di ulteriori scoperte nell' antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese*, 1870.

³ *La nécropole de Villanova*, p. 76.

⁴ Cf. Brizio's statement quoted by Grenier, p. 180.

⁵ See Grenier, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque*, Paris, 1912. This book should be studied carefully in connexion with the following chapter. It gives

For it must now be understood, although it could not be even suspected in 1870, that the cemetery of Villanova itself belongs only to the latest stage of a civilization which lasted indeed down to the sixth or even the fifth century, but which began very near the dawn of the Iron Age. This civilization, to the whole of which the name 'Villanovan' should be properly applied, is spread over a large part of the northern half of Italy, and is quite homogeneous in its general character, though marked by minor differences of local type according as it may appear in the Bolognese, in Etruria, or in Latium. Its history and development will be studied in each of these separate regions in turn, but it is appropriate, and almost necessary for clearness, that we should begin with the Bolognese territory in which it was first discovered.

Accordingly the second chapter is devoted to the Northern Villanovans of the Bolognese district, the third to the Villanovans of Etruria who preceded the Etruscans in those parts, and the fourth to the Villanovans of Latium, in whom we shall recognize one of the principal elements which composed the population of Rome. The period of time covered by the growth and development of this civilization cannot be precisely measured, and must long remain the subject of study and debate. But it is beyond question that it fills almost the whole of the Iron Age down to the end of the sixth century in the Bolognese region, and we shall adduce reasons for supposing that it begins as early as the tenth or even the eleventh century before Christ. In the fifth century the Villanovans disappear as a recognizable people, stifled no doubt and partially absorbed by the dominant Etruscans who had settled beside them. How far their culture was autochthonous and how far derived from other countries, whether it is independent in origin or descended from Bronze-Age predecessors in Italy, we shall discuss in the fourth chapter of this volume. Having treated of the Villanovans we shall pass in Chapter V to describe the earliest centuries of the Etruscan civilization, which first existed side by side with the Villanovan, and finally supplanted and choked it out of existence.

an admirable account of the history and general bearing of all the excavations around Bologna. For a good criticism of Grenier which emphasizes some different points of view see von Duhn in

Atti e mem. della R. dep. di storia patria per la prov. di Romagna, vol. v, 1914, translated from *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, v. 1913.

II

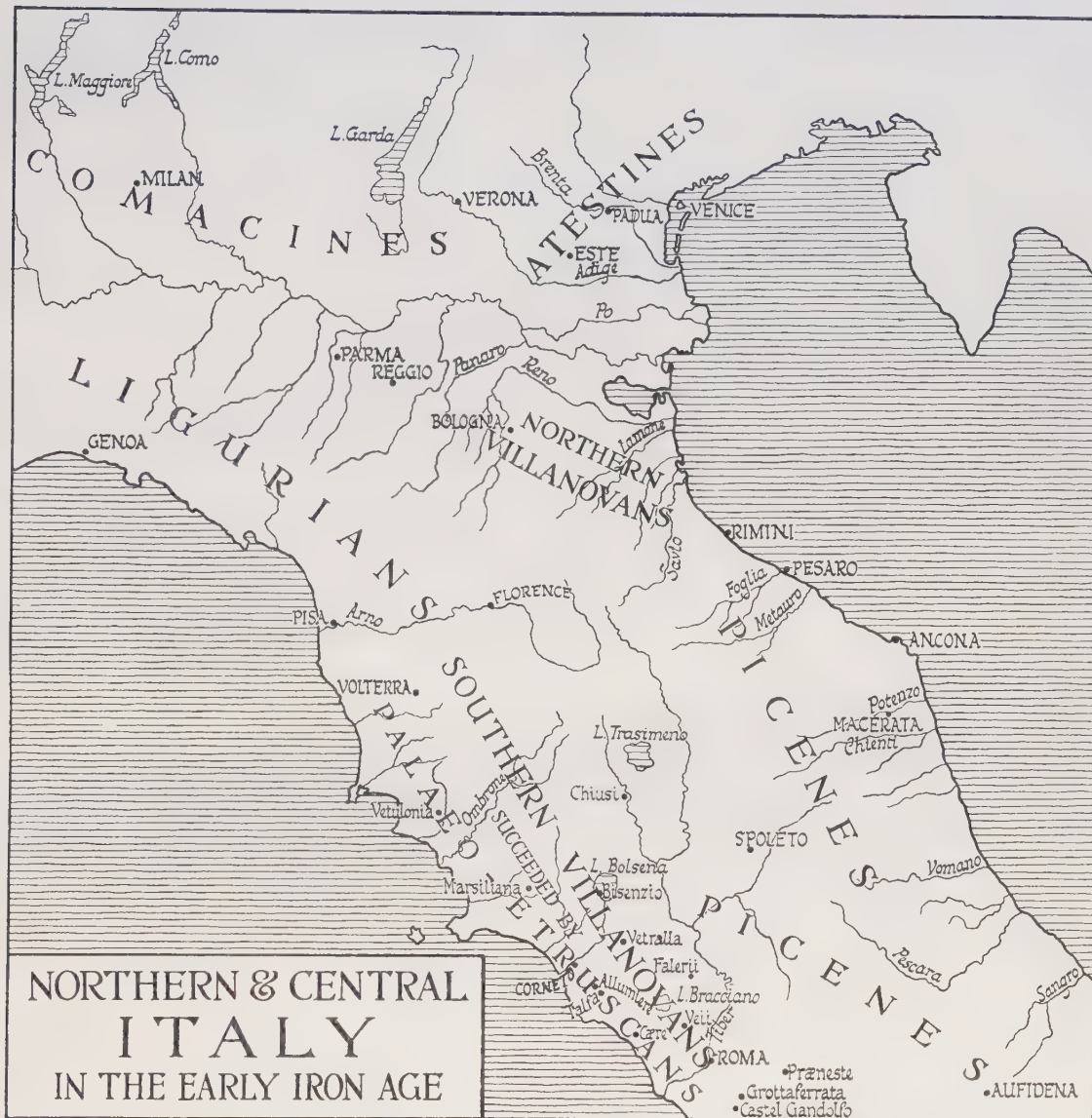
THE NORTHERN VILLANOVANS

THE Northern Villanovans are those who lived on the east side of the Apennines in the modern provinces of Bologna, Faenza, Forlì, and Ravenna. So much intensive archaeological study has been devoted to these districts in the last fifty years that it is now possible to define the boundaries of the Northern Villanovans with comparative certainty. Their territory extended from the Apennines to the river Reno on the north and from the river Panaro on the west to the Adriatic. They reached the sea-coast at Rimini, which was even then perhaps important as the terminus of a great road ; but south of this their progress was barred by the *Picenes*, descendants in all probability of the old neolithic stock which can be recognized by its practice of burying instead of cremating the dead. Immediately north of the Po were the *Atestines*,¹ the representatives of a third distinct civilization which spread over the whole of Venetia and continued into Istria. On the west the marshy regions round Parma may have been still occupied by survivors of the people of the *terremare* whose burial rite was exclusively cremation, while beyond these again Lombardy was developing on independent lines that Golasecca civilization which we shall term the *Comacine*. The accompanying sketch-map of the northern half of Italy will show the distribution of the several peoples in the Iron Age from about the tenth century to the sixth. (Plate 1.)

It will be seen that the territory of the Northern Villanovans, although so thickly settled, was not large ; and it is impossible not to be struck with its singular geographical significance. How did this people come to be wedged in a comparatively small enclave between so many neighbours of alien stocks ? Two alternative routes have been suggested for their migration, viz. from the north-west along the line of the Po and up some of its principal tributaries ; or else from the south-west over the passes of the Apennines. The former would be difficult unless the inhabitants of the *terremare* were friendly enough to let them traverse their country, but it is possible that the *Terramaricoli* were not enemies but kinsmen. A favourite theory indeed, which is supported by some of the greatest names in Italian archaeology, supposes the Villanovans to have been lineal descendants of the *Terramaricoli*. According to this view they would be merely another wave of the same people pushing farther on

¹ To avoid race-names we have chosen this word in preference to 'Euganean'.

Plate 1



the same march which was begun by their ancestors in the Bronze Age. And the Villanovans of Etruria and Latium would then have come from the Bolognese across the Apennines either at the same time or a little later.¹ This explanation is plausible and consistent but lacks convincing proof. It deserves to be carefully examined in the light of all the evidence that can be supplied by analysis and comparison of the archaeological remains. If it is rejected, a proposed alternative is to reverse the order of the series and to derive the Northern Villanovans from those of Central Italy.² In that case the original focus of the whole civilization might be placed in the region of Allumiere or the Alban hills; unless, indeed, future discoveries should reveal its existence in still unexplored regions south of the Tiber. But until such fundamental questions can be decided it is lost labour to attach race-names to the Villanovans, and it is wholly premature to label them as 'Umbrians' merely because some of them inhabited the districts which were later ascribed to that ill-defined racial entity.

The Burial Rite of the Villanovans

The burial rite of the Villanovans was cremation, a characteristic which associates their habits with those of the Terramaricoli, and opposes them to the Etruscans and the Picenes. A small number of inhumation burials, however, occur in most of the cemeteries, and this circumstance has given rise to much discussion. The proportion is so slight that it does not in any way invalidate the general statement that the Villanovans are essentially a cremating people, but it certainly calls for explanation. At Villanova itself there were 193 cremations and only fourteen skeletons 'lying pell-mell amongst the tombs containing the burned bodies, almost at the same level, and one of these tombs was partly superimposed on a skeleton; the same objects were found in the tombs and with the skeletons, but in a smaller quantity with the latter'.³ On other sites the percentage of inhumations is often lower, and seldom does it reach at all a high proportion.⁴

An attempt has been made to show that the proportion varies according to date, the later cemeteries containing more inhumations than the earlier;⁵ and it has sometimes been argued that this modification is due to the growing

¹ See Pigorini in *Bull. Pal. it.*, especially 1903.

² This is Grenier's view, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque*, pp. 61, 62, but he produces no convincing arguments.

³ Gozzadini, *La nécropole de Villanova*, p. 14.

⁴ The highest percentage would be in the upper levels of the Arnoaldi and Stradello della Certosa sites if we accept the figures given by Grenier in his

Bologne villanovienne et étrusque, pp. 137-8. But we may seriously doubt whether a number of the burials described on his p. 137 are not actually of a later period than the Villanovan. If they are genuinely contemporary, then it must be admitted that these two sites are quite exceptional.

⁵ Cf. Brizio in *Not. Sc.* 1898, pp. 387-9.

influence of the Etruscans, who are supposed to have been gradually imposing their own burial customs upon their less powerful neighbours. But the material available for comparison is quite insufficient to allow of any such exact grading of the series, and the argument would in any case need to be very complete to convince an anthropologist who believes in the sound axiom that primitive peoples are above all things tenacious of their burial customs. Even if it can be proved, as it certainly has not yet been proved, that there is a chronological development from cremation to inhumation, we should be slow to attribute it to the mere influence of foreign ideas. It is logically much sounder to maintain that the presence of two distinct burial rites proves the presence of two distinct peoples; and that therefore there were a few individuals of another race living side by side with the Villanovans, whether as subjects or as equals. This race cannot have been the Etruscans, who when they appear on the scene form large communities, living and burying by themselves. But it may well have been the Picenes, whose territory abutted on that of the Villanovans all along the line, not only in the north but also in Central Italy. We suggest then that the skeletons found in Villanovan cemeteries are generally those of the Picenes, who either occupied this territory before the Villanovans conquered it or else filtered in across the border and mingled peacefully with the dominant majority.¹ This explanation may hold for the Southern as well as for the Northern Villanovans, and is worth considering even as a possible solution of the mixture of burial rites in the early cemetery of the Forum in Rome.

On the other hand, however, it has not been sufficiently emphasized that though there are many cemeteries in which a few inhumations occur, there are others in which not a single case has been found. In the Lavatoio cemetery at Verucchio, near Rimini, there was probably not one contemporaneous inhumation among 110 cremations.² In Etruria there were no inhumations in the cemetery of Selciatello at Corneto, and the Villanovan cemetery of Vetulonia was exclusively comprised of cremations. The latter case is especially telling, because the cemetery of Poggio alla Guardia is partially contemporary with the Etruscan graves bordering upon it.

It may be considered, therefore, that the Villanovans are exclusively a cremating people, and we may now proceed to describe the construction of their tombs.

¹ Grenier's suggestion that the skeletons are those of victims sacrificed on the grave of their master is ingenious, but will hardly meet all the cases. Grenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

² One skeleton of doubtful date was found in

the first series of excavations, comprising fifty-two graves. In the second series there were found remains of three skeletons, but all seem to have been later than the Villanovan time. *Not. Sc.* 1894, p. 297; *Not. Sc.* 1898, pp. 345, 346.

The Types of Tomb-Construction

The standard type of tomb in the north has been well described by Gozzadini, and varies very little in the different periods. Its essential feature is the ossuary, a high jar of hand-made pottery, usually decorated with incised geometrical patterns and covered with an inverted bowl. Fig. 1 shows the peculiar and characteristic form of the typical Villanovan ossuary. It has generally two handles, of which one is invariably broken off, apparently with deliberate purpose.

This 'biconical ossuary' is the hall-mark of the Villanovan, and is usually found wherever he goes. But it was not evolved in a day. It may be regarded as the standardized form for ritual purposes of a vessel in everyday use, which was probably employed for drawing water. Accordingly other kinds of domestic pottery were often used for ossuaries in the earlier periods before a fixed standard had been established;¹ so that some of the most archaic cemeteries contain a certain number of cooking-pots, spherical jars, or even occasionally jugs, which were filled with the ashes and partially burned bones.

The simplest form of tomb in which this ossuary was placed is naturally a cylindrical hole cut in the earth without any protection around it, the most rudimentary type of the pozzetto. Gozzadini found no fewer than 123 out of a total of 193 graves to be thus constructed. The next degree of elaboration is when the sides of the hole are supported by a revetment of small stones. At Villanova itself there were a certain number of instances in which stones were also piled above the grave to a height of 0.75 m. or even 1.50 m., which might have given the appearance of a little cairn.

The third and most elaborate form is when the ossuary with its accompanying small vases is enclosed in a rectangular cist formed of six thin slabs. An example of this kind is shown below on Fig. 2.²

The ossuary contains the ashes of the cremated dead person, amongst which are generally some bones only partially consumed by the fire. Amongst

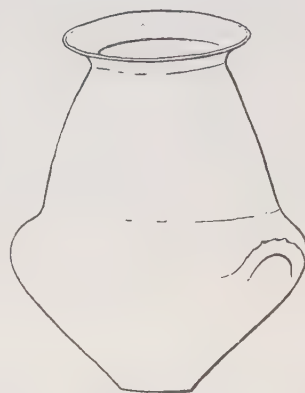


FIG. 1. Typical Villanovan ossuary. After Gozzadini. Scale 1 : 8.

¹ And also, as will be seen in Chap. III, in some cemeteries which are not of the very earliest period but are out of touch with the principal Villanovan centres.

² Gozzadini, *La nécropole de Villanova*, p. 23.

Cf. *Di un sepolcreto etrusco scoperto presso Bologna*. That the type of tomb enclosed by slabs is not necessarily a late form is shown by its occurrence in the very archaic cemetery of San Vitale. See below, p. 12.

these ashes are small articles of personal use or adornment, fibulae, head-pins, bracelets, and beads ; while on the top of the jar or outside it rest such larger objects, as razors, knives, or weapons. A bed of

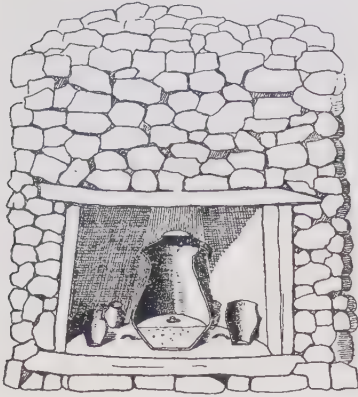


FIG. 2. A grave at Villanova. After Gozzadini. Scale 1 : 25.

ashes collected from the pyre surrounds the bottom of the ossuary to a depth of about nine centimetres, and on this bed, except in the very poorest graves, stand two or three small cups or bowls. The tombs are very thickly concentrated, often almost touching one another, and seldom more than a metre apart. They are generally found a metre or two below the present level of the ground, but their tops must originally have been almost level with the surface, and on some sites the place of each tomb was marked by a rough stele of unworked stone. The size of the ossuary varies,

but may be said to average about 35 to 40 centimetres in height, and the tomb is just large enough to contain it, with a small space round and above it for the scanty tomb furniture and the sweepings of the pyre.

Distribution of Cemeteries round Bologna

Gozzadini's exploration of Villanova marks the beginning of a series of discoveries which have continued uninterruptedly till the present day. Villanovan tombs were soon reported from all parts of the Bolognese, as well as in the city of Bologna and its immediate environs. A great impetus was given by the excavations consequent on the formation of a modern cemetery in 1869 on the site of the convent of the Certosa, 1½ kilometres west of Bologna outside the Porta Sant' Isaia. Here Zannoni found a large Etruscan cemetery,¹ dating, as its Greek painted pottery shows, from the fifth century B.C. ;² close to which, but separated from it by a clear space of 56 metres and defined by a wide boundary-ditch,³ was a Villanovan cemetery uncontaminated by Etruscan or Greek objects. This proved to be the most western of a whole series of similar cemeteries stretching eastwards without interruption as far as the stream called Ravona, which formed its limit 500 metres from the Porta Sant' Isaia.⁴ In the course of the next twenty-five years Zannoni, Gozzadini,

¹ Zannoni, *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, 1876.

² For the Greek pottery of the Etruscan cemeteries at Bologna see Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli Etrusche*, Bologna, 1900, and cf. Grenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-24.

³ Gozzadini in *Not. Sc.* 1884, fascicoli of Feb. and Sept.

⁴ See the map in *Gli Scavi della Certosa*, Plate 2, and the plan, accompanied by exposition, in Montelius, *Civ. Prim.* (text to Plates 73-86). The clearest and most complete map, however, is that

and Brizio completed the systematic exploration of these sites, the objects from which are most carefully exhibited and classified in the museum of Bologna, though unfortunately scarcely anything has been published on the details of the excavations. At intervals during the same time and afterwards other tombs have been found at various points within the modern city, as well as outside the southern and eastern gates.

Ghirardini gives their distribution as it was known in 1913, since which date little of importance has been added.¹ On the west, outside the Porta Sant' Isaia are the cemeteries called, from the names of the local landowners, Benacci, Caprara, De Luca, Guglielmini, Melenzani, Tagliavini, Stradello della Certosa, Arnoaldi. On the north-east, north, and north-west are those of the Via Repubblicana, Via Falegnami, Via Lame. On the south-east are the cemeteries of the Via Cestello and the Arsenal. On the east those of the Piazza della Mercanzia, the Via Mazzini, and—last of all to be discovered—the cemetery outside the Porta San Vitale, to which we must now add the Savena cemetery. Beyond and outside these on the west are the Etruscan cemeteries of Arnoaldi, De Luca, Certosa, and on the south-east those of Villa Tamburini and the Giardino Margherita.

Arguing from the area and distribution of these cemeteries, and from the number—probably over-estimated—of contemporary hut-foundations which Zannoni found under the streets and houses of Bologna, Grenier has propounded the startling hypothesis that there was a huge Villanovan city, two or three times the size of ancient Capua or Naples.² This view, which would contradict all our ideas on the habits and life of man in Italy in the early Iron Age, has been unanimously rejected by the best archaeologists. Ghirardini points out that the very nature of the site would have rendered it impossible, and suggests, what is almost self-evident, that there can only have been several isolated pagi or hamlets, perhaps four in number.³ The largest of these hamlets would have stood near the Porta Sant' Isaia, and its burying ground through successive centuries was in the chain of cemeteries extending from the Ravona to the Certosa, for a distance of about 400 metres on either side of a road which probably dates back to the same period as the tombs. The most archaic burials are those nearest to the Porta Sant' Isaia, and the antiquity of the series steadily decreases as we proceed westwards, until the latest of all are found almost on the confines of the Etruscan necropolis.

published by Grenier to illustrate his own article in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. xxvii (École française de Rome).

¹ Ghirardini, *La necropoli antichissima scoperta a Bologna fuori Porta San Vitale*, in the Proceed-

ings of the *R. Accad. delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna*, 1913.

² Grenier, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

³ Ghirardini, *op. cit.*

Classification of Periods

The cemeteries outside the Porta Sant' Isaia have formed the basis of a classification of all the Villanovan material into three periods, known respectively as the First Benacci, the Second Benacci, and the Arnoaldi periods. The first and second of these merge into one another almost imperceptibly by a process of natural growth and development ; but the third is very clearly distinguished by certain innovations of technique and the appearance of wholly new decorative motives. The Arnoaldi period runs down to the commencement of the Etruscan at Bologna, which, as we have seen, dates from the foundation of a colony at the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B. C. This Arnoaldi period covers a length of time which we shall presently see reason to estimate at not less than two or two and a half centuries. To anticipate a discussion of details which will be given in subsequent pages, we may say at once that the Arnoaldi period may be defined as from 750 or 700 B. C. to 500 B. C. The duration of the two Benacci periods which precede it is much harder to determine, but may be tentatively estimated at about three centuries. The earliest traces of the Villanovan culture in the Bolognese, so far as at present ascertained, may therefore be placed towards the end of the eleventh century B.C., between which and the end of the Bronze Age is a gap which cannot yet be filled for this precise region, though it may perhaps be bridged by the material from other sites in various parts of Italy (see Chapter IV).

The objects found in the Sant' Isaia cemeteries are arranged in several rows of cases in a large room of the Museo Civico at Bologna. Here there may be seen not only type-series of ossuaries, fibulae, ornaments, and implements, but also—incomparably more valuable to the student—a considerable number of entire tomb groups. This is the only complete and comprehensive collection of Villanovan material in existence.¹ In adjoining cases, admirably exhibited by tomb-groups, are the results of the various excavations made on the other sites in and immediately round Bologna. The nomenclature of these is unfortunately very intricate and confusing,² but the only places which need be mentioned here are the following :

First Benacci period—the sites of San Vitale, Savena, Benacci (part).

¹ The little collection bequeathed by Gozzadini and housed in the University Library adjoining the museum is of small importance for our purposes ; apparently the great bulk of his original discoveries was dispersed. In the Museo Preistorico at Rome there is a series of representative Villanovan objects selected for purposes of

comparison with other regional antiquities, and no doubt there are various small groups in several European museums. But it is only at Bologna that the subject can be seriously studied as a whole.

² For an explanation and history of the excavations see Grenier, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

Second Benacci period—the sites of Benacci (part), Benacci-Caprara, Benacci-De Luca.

Arnoaldi period—the sites of Stradello della Certosa, Arnoaldi, Melenzani, and Arsenale (though a few finds at the Arsenal belong to the Second Benacci).

It is extraordinarily unfortunate that no account has ever been published of the principal excavations belonging to the First Benacci period,¹ and that the only adequate record of any part of the Second Benacci period is Brizio's careful account of the Benacci-Caprara excavations.² For the Arnoaldi cemetery it is necessary to rely upon Gozzadini's publication,³ which is not wholly satisfactory, as it was violently impugned by Zannoni, who actually conducted the work. Under these circumstances, although the archaeological world is enormously indebted to Montelius for publishing—in many instances from original drawings—a general conspectus of all the Bolognese material,⁴ it is evident that the absence of original documents often constitutes a serious difficulty. At this late day it is very likely impossible to cast the original notes of Zannoni and others into satisfactory form, but it is certainly very much to be wished that any existing information as to the details of his digging should be put together by official authority so far as this can be done. And whereas it may safely be assumed that the arrangement of the specimens in the Museum under the eye of so conscientious and profoundly experienced an archaeologist as Brizio was made on the soundest scientific principles, yet it would be well to have a precise account of the criteria employed in separating the First from the Second Benacci. It is very noticeable, for instance, that iron is completely absent from the tombs of the First Benacci period as exhibited in the Sant' Isaia cases. This might lead any one to suppose at the first glance that he had to deal with the end of the Bronze Age rather than a well-marked stage in the early Iron Age. And yet a study of the other objects shows clearly that the types are all distinctly later than Bronze Age. We should like to know, therefore, whether the absence of iron may not perhaps have been taken as the actual criterion in itself, and whether Benacci graves in which no iron was found were not, *eo ipso*, classified as belonging to the First rather than the Second Period. Fortunately, it is proved that iron actually does occur at the very beginning of the First Benacci period, if not earlier, by the evidence of the newly discovered San Vitale cemetery.

¹ There are some passing allusions in Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, and some general remarks in *Bull. Inst.* 1875, pp. 46, 177, 209, and 1876, p. 42.

² *Not. Sc.* 1889, pp. 288-333.

³ *Intorno agli scavi fatti dal Sig. Arnoaldi-Veli*, Bologna, 1877. It is from this source that Montelius derives his Plates 82-6.

⁴ Montelius, *Civ. Prim.*, Plates 73-93.

First Benacci Period. San Vitale and Savena

The San Vitale cemetery is situated about 500 metres from the walls outside the San Vitale gate, that is to say on the opposite side to the Certosa and Sant' Isaia. It was discovered in 1913, and is, therefore, not included in the works either of Montelius or of Grenier. It is of an earlier character than any Villanovan site yet found near Bologna, except the Savena cemetery, which is near it and was discovered in the following year. No account has yet been published of the Savena excavations, but a very valuable preliminary paper on the San Vitale finds was written by Ghirardini.¹ This memoir includes only about half the material, and was never continued, owing to the death of the author, but it is a masterly exposition which needs only a few words of modification to cover the results obtained from the remaining tombs which Ghirardini did not see.

The excavation was incident to the construction of a number of workmen's houses in a new quarter, so that it was attended by considerable difficulties, and only a fraction of the whole site was uncovered. About 480 graves had been found at the time when Ghirardini wrote, but the number ultimately excavated was about 900. In comparison with the Sant' Isaia cemeteries of the First Benacci period, Ghirardini considers that San Vitale shows a character of distinctly more marked archaism, alike in the disposition and construction of the tombs and in their contents. There were no differences of stratification, so that the whole cemetery is uniform and consistent.² The depth of the tombs below the surface was 2.50 metres, 3 metres, and even 4 metres. Sometimes the ossuary was buried in the naked earth, sometimes it was protected above by a slab of stone, and sometimes, as in an example exhibited in the museum, it was protected by slabs all round. But the slabs are very irregular, with untrimmed edges and angles, not like the well-squared pieces which formed the cists described and illustrated by Gozzadini at Villanova (cf. Fig. 2). Rough stelae of natural unworked stone were placed above many of the tombs, a feature which reminds us of the still earlier cemetery of Timmari.³

As to the ossuaries themselves, the standard Villanovan type (cf. Fig. 1) has already appeared and is the predominant form; but there are also a good many rough domestic cooking-pots and jars, which were used especially for

¹ *La necropoli antichissima scoperta a Bologna fuori Porta San Vitale*, 1913. It is a paper communicated to the *Classe di scienze morali della R. Acc. delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna*, printed by Gamberini and Parmeggiani, Bologna.

² Inhumation-burials, however, were not wholly

absent; an instructive instance is exhibited in the Museum in which a Villanovan ossuary is superimposed on a skeleton which wears an early form of fibula.

³ Described in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xvi, 1906. Cf. p. 94 of this volume.

the burial of children. (Some representative ossuaries from San Vitale are shown in Plate 3 (nos. 1, 3, and 10).) The pottery is all hand-made and very primitive, belonging to the general class which all archaeologists will recognize if it is described as the 'Mediterranean smoke-blackened ware'.¹ Several examples of it are shown in Plate 3 (nos. 2, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 16), together with other examples (nos. 8, 9, 11, and 13) from the Savena site. It is to be noted, however, that there is one fine example, unique in the two cemeteries, of a polished red vase. On the ossuaries there is generally an incised geometrical decoration, the patterns being a squared maeander, a row of chevrons or triangles, and a swastika, elements which are sometimes combined in a single example, and often separated or terminated by bands of small stamped circles. The normal handle of the ossuary, surviving on only one of the two sides, is modelled like a twisted rope. One ossuary (from tomb 736, Plate 3, no. 3) has the maeander pattern entirely picked out with small bronze studs, the earliest instance of a peculiar technique which will be observed later in Etruria (see below, p. 179). Other pots are ornamented in strong relief with strips of clay or with protruding spikes and bosses.²

Many of the tombs were exceedingly poor, and contained nothing but the ossuary with its accompanying bowl. In others there were one or two bronze objects, viz. fibulae, razors, head-pins, distaffs, bracelets, fish-hooks, tweezers, and nails. One tomb (759) contained horse-bits, and in several others there were bronze phalerae, which presumably belonged to harness. Two or three much richer tombs only came to light after Ghirardini's paper had been written; they are very important, and contradict his statement that there are no vessels of hammered bronze and no iron implements at San Vitale. Thus in tomb 776 was an iron 'palette-knife' with bone handle (Plate 2, no. 19), and in the same tomb were the remains of a bronze situla and of several bronze bowls, as well as a superb specimen of the well-known type of bronze sword with antennae handle. Tomb 759 also contained parts of a bronze situla with swinging handle and fragments of a bronze bowl, while in tomb 777 there was a plain bronze bowl and a bronze staff surmounted by the figure of a running dog.

It is evident, therefore, that the San Vitale cemetery was not so poor as a review of the first five hundred tombs would suggest; but Ghirardini's general opinion on its period and character is none the less valid and decisive. He judges it to be the earliest of all the Bolognese cemeteries, but distinctly

¹ Burned in an open fire and coloured by the percolation of the smoke, as described in a paper by D. Randall MacIver in *Man*, 1921.

fanciful forms, e. g. a pot composed of three goblets united, and a bowl with a row of animals moulded in the round.

² At Savena there were also one or two more

later than Fontanella Mantovana, Bismantova, Pianello, and Timmari. As contrasted with these it has the plain bow fibula and some early kinds of serpentine fibulae, as well as razors of semi-lunar shape; whereas they have the violin-bow fibulae and razors of the oblong two-edged form. It is interesting and important, however, to observe that in the neighbouring Savena cemetery there was one instance of this more archaic form of razor (see Plate 2, no. 18). San Vitale and Savena, therefore, while earlier as a whole than any part of the Benacci cemetery of Sant' Isaia, do not go back quite so far as the four sites which Pigorini, Colini, and Ghirardini all agree in considering as transitional between the Bronze and Iron Ages. We may treat them as belonging to the very beginning of the First Benacci period and as furnishing the best standard for the characterization of that period.

The most representative objects from San Vitale and Savena are shown in Plate 2. Of the fibulae illustrated in Plate 2, nos. 1-4 and 7-10, it may be said that both as a group and individually they show a development well advanced beyond the Bronze Age. No. 10 is a form that is no doubt descended from the violin-bow of the Bronze Age, but has evolved through several stages, of which one may be seen (Montelius, *Série A*, 221) at Bismantova.¹ It is almost absent from Sant' Isaia. Nos. 1 and 4 are characterized by the scudetto or disc which serves as a catch-point. This feature does not occur in the fibulae of the First Benacci period at Sant' Isaia, and must be considered, in North Italy at least, as a mark of very early date. In Etruria, however, 'disc-fibulae', as we shall term them, have a much longer range, for although they are found in the very earliest Villanovan graves at Corneto (see pp. 44, 45) they continue even down to the Regolini-Galassi time. The body of the disc-fibulae at San Vitale may be of any of three different forms, viz. a semicircular bow, a long loop with a twisted spring near the catch-point, or a serpentine like two juxtaposed marks of interrogation. Of those illustrated, no. 1 has a lapping of bronze wire round the end furthest from the disc, while semicircular bows like no. 4 are generally threaded with numerous round slips of shell.

The fibula in the form of a semicircular wire bow with small recurved catch-point instead of a disc frequently occurs, and is often threaded with round slips of shell. It is a type of such extreme simplicity that it is not surprising to find it surviving even in the Second Benacci tombs of Sant' Isaia. The plain bow, of which the body is not wire but sheet bronze hammered into a thin, closed cylinder tapering at each end, is seen in no. 2. It may be considered

¹ A complete corpus of all the types of fibulae found in Italy is given by Montelius in his *Civilisation primitive en Italie*, *Série A*.

as the original of the 'sanguisuga' or 'leech' fibula, which henceforward occurs in graves of every period. Another type, not illustrated here, resembles the sanguisuga in profile only; it is not a cylinder but an olive leaf in form, and does not often occur. More distinctively characteristic of the cemetery than either the bow or the sanguisuga, however, are nos. 3, 8, and 9. Of these, no. 9 in Plate 2 has a wire body of semi-elliptical shape wrapped round with strands of wire which produce almost the appearance of concentric rings. Nos. 3 and 8, on the other hand, have solid bodies of sheet bronze deeply corrugated with spiral channels which make a series of flutings down the back. These two forms occur in the First Benacci period at Sant' Isaia, but are much less frequent there than at San Vitale, while in the Second Benacci period they have become quite rare.¹

At Savena the types of fibulae and the approximate distribution of their frequency are practically the same as at San Vitale; there are several instances of the disc or scudetto, and at least one of the 'lyri-form' type, 10, if it may be so called.

Next to the fibulae may be considered the bronze implements and weapons, of which the most frequent are razors. The invariable form at San Vitale, and the invariable form with one notable exception at Savena, is the semi-lunar blade shown in Plate 2, nos. 16, 17. This is a type unknown before the beginning of the Iron Age, but which continues in use with slight modification throughout both Benacci periods and only disappears in the Arnoaldi.² The one exception at Savena is the double-bladed razor shown in Plate 2, no. 18, a form which is later than the Bronze Age, but is usual in the four cemeteries of the Bismantovan period mentioned on p. 14. Axes are uncommon, but there is a fine example in the San Vitale tomb 720, reproduced in Plate 2, no. 15, of a type which occurs again at Savena. There is one spear at San Vitale (tomb 303) with a head about 15 centimetres long and round in section, tapering from a little over a centimetre in diameter to a fine point. The antennae-handled sword from San Vitale 776 is of a pattern almost confined to the northern part of Italy³ and not found in the pure Bronze Age. Pigorini considers it to have been derived from Central Europe, and it occurs at Hallstatt as well as other sites north of the Alps.⁴ Another unique object from the same tomb is the iron 'palette-knife' or

¹ To measure the exact relative frequency of the various types in any of these cemeteries is impossible owing to the damaged condition of so many specimens. But it may be said that all the types illustrated in Plate 2 occur a fair number of times at San Vitale.

² On bronze razors of the Iron Age and pre-

ceding period see Pigorini in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xx (1894), pp. 6-19.

³ But one example was found at Corneto, and one at Vetulonia, see below pp. 52, 139, and Plates 14 and 25.

⁴ See *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ix (1883), pp. 103-5.

small adze, of which the haft seems to have been sheathed with bone and bound with bronze wire at the junction (Plate 2, no. 19).

Passing from weapons and implements to ornaments—among the most frequent of these on both sites are bronze head-pins which have either plain knobs or else a crozier-twist for the head (Plate 2, nos. 5, 6). Rather longer bronze pins, with knobbed heads sometimes of bronze and sometimes of amber, may generally be considered to be distaffs. Bracelets and armlets of bronze were made in two shapes, either a plain overlapping circle or else a spiral consisting of anything from six to eleven coils of flat ribbon. Amongst the beads strung on fibulae occur both glaze and amber. In Plate 2, no. 13, is shown an object the use or meaning of which cannot be interpreted; it is a bronze rod about 0.26 metre long with a head of amber and discs of amber at intervals down it.

The most curious and interesting article of personal wear found in either of the two cemeteries is a girdle from San Vitale 491 made of a strip of horn 0.40 metre long by 0.11 metre wide at the maximum. At one end it has a bronze band about a centimetre wide for attachment, and as it had been broken in half, apparently during the lifetime of the wearer, it has been repaired by the insertion of a small strip of bronze about two and a half centimetres long which joined the fractured sides (Plate 2, no. 14).

First Benacci Period. A Cemetery near Rimini

Contemporary with San Vitale and Savena is a part but by no means the whole of the cemetery of Lavatoio at Verucchio near Rimini. Of 110 graves which were excavated there in 1893 and 1894 all were of definitely Villanovan type, but every period was represented from the earliest Benacci to the full Arnoaldi.¹ Apparently the more ancient graves were situated, just as at Bologna, in a fairly well-defined section near the habitations of the living; and the antiquity decreased in proportion to the distance of the graves from the village settlement. Ossuaries in the oldest part of Lavatoio were already of the fully standardized Villanovan form, varying a little in size but not in shape. The hole in which they were buried was sometimes plain and sometimes surrounded with a revetment of small stones. In one place the urns were so close to one another that thirty were found in a space of three by four and a half metres, but further exploration proved this to be wholly exceptional. Over the rest of the ground

¹ Accounts of these excavations were published by Tosi, who conducted the first series, and by Brizio, who was officially responsible for both. See Tosi, *Relazione degli scavi eseguiti in un sepolcreto*

del tipo Villanova a Verucchio, Rimini, 1894; and *Di alcune tombe tipo Villanova scoperte a Verucchio*, Rimini, 1896; Brizio in *Not. Sc.* 1894, pp. 292-309, and 1898, pp. 343-68.

there were appreciable intervals between the burials and even some wide gaps owing to patches of hard ground.

The objects found were of few varieties but perfectly diagnostic ; as, for instance, disc-fibulae, which occurred in four graves,¹ and fibulae 'ad arco ritorto' (like Plate 2, nos. 3 and 8), which were remarkably frequent. Next to these the most characteristic ornament was a bracelet made of two strands of bronze wire forming several spirals. It is to be observed that glazed beads and oval pieces of amber, probably for necklaces, occur. There were apparently no weapons, no bronze vessels, and no iron objects of any kind in this early part of the cemetery ; but it is interesting to note in passing that iron weapons known to be Picene, and of shapes never found in other Villanovan tombs, occurred in several graves of the later periods. This is easily explained by the circumstance that Verucchio was a border-town between the two nations, a sort of Berwick-on-Tweed.

There are two peculiarities in the technique of the earliest pottery at Lavatoio which deserve notice. In tomb 42 of the second series a gourd-shaped vase was covered with a resinous slip on which geometrical patterns had been printed apparently by the use of slips of metal, a procedure used sometimes also in Etruria but never at all common ; and in tomb 10 of the first series a two-handled cup of the usual black ware had been ornamented with rings of shell pressed into the clay whilst still soft. This may be the earliest form of that process of decorating vases with studs of bronze, which became so popular at Narce and Falerii, and has been noted already at San Vitale. Positive proof of intercourse with the Southern Villanovans of Etruria is furnished by the occurrence of a pottery model of a bronze helmet, used to cover an ossuary exactly as it was used at Corneto (see below, p. 47). This is the only instance known north of the Apennines, and it is to be wished that it could be dated to an exact period, but the tomb-furniture is unfortunately too scanty. The fibula found with it is of a form not known in any other Villanovan tomb, north of the Apennines but resembling some types at Corneto.² The principal contents of the Lavatoio tombs have been divided between the museums of Bologna, Rome, and Rimini.

¹ Two fine examples are reproduced by Montelius, *Civ. Prim., Série B*, cols. 441, 442. Figures K and L, however, which are illustrated on the same page, belong to the later series of graves.

² *Not. Sc.* 1894, pp. 306, 307. The helmet and the fibula are reproduced by Montelius, *Civ. Prim., Sér. B.*, cols. 440, 441.

First Benacci Period. The Sant' Isaia Cemeteries

Returning to the study of the First Benacci period at Bologna itself we observe at once that the Sant' Isaia cemeteries represent a distinctly later stage than San Vitale, Savena, and Lavatoio. The disc-fibula has disappeared,¹ and the serpentine fibula scarcely occurs,² while the type with twisted bow is comparatively rare. The forms shown in Plate 2, nos. 2 and 9, are about as frequent as on the earlier sites, but the 'empty-boat' fibula (*navicella vuota*) appears as a novelty previously unknown; and the 'leech' fibula (*sanguisuga*) is often found with a body much thicker than the tapering cylinder from which it was derived.³ Iron, as we have remarked on p. 11, does not appear in any of the tomb groups exhibited, but it does not follow that it was never found, and the character of all the objects is that of the well-advanced Iron Age. The ossuaries are all of the fully characterized 'biconical' shape, differing a little from one another but conforming always to the same well-marked general standard. They are sometimes smooth, but much more often decorated, with incised patterns of lines, triangles, and maeanders; two representative examples are shown in Plate 3, nos. 4 and 5, as well as two bowls of the same ware and technique. All the pottery is hand-made and of the same 'smoke-blackened' Mediterranean ware; the shapes, however, are very few, and it is rare to find any accessory vases with the ossuary and its covering bowl. A small spherical pot decorated with a maeander in tomb 294, and a twin vase surmounted by roughly modelled animal heads in tomb 951 are quite exceptional.

Comparing the individual classes of ornaments and implements with those of the earlier cemeteries we observe that the bronze razors are invariably of the semi-lunar type with a handle ending in a ring; and not appreciably different from those of San Vitale.⁴ Weapons are rare, except for bronze paalstaabs which are quite frequent (see Plate 4, no. 3). There is a single specimen of a bronze sword, but its hilt is too much broken to admit of exact classification, and a number of long thin implements like spits which might possibly have been used as weapons; as well as bronze goads furnished with a short spike on a cylindrical butt. Of bronze 'palette-knives' or adzes there are two kinds; the first has a long tang which is covered with a handle of horn or wood (Plate 4, no. 2); the second has a cylindrical socket into which the handle must have fitted. A long bronze knife with curving convexo-concave blade and cylindrical socket is a new

¹ Brizio cites a single instance of it, *Not. Sc.* 1898, p. 347; cf. Montelius, Plate 75, no. 1.

² In Montelius, Plate 75, no. 5, is given the only example which can be observed, from tomb 255.

³ The original form, however, is not uncommon. Cf. Montelius, Plate 75, no. 4.

⁴ Except that in several instances, e.g. tombs 628, 855, 895, the ring is ornamented with little birds, a very early appearance of the 'anitrella' motive.

type unknown on the earlier sites. There are bronze headpins like those of San Vitale, with the poppy-head top very well formed and ornamental, as well as small wheels which are probably the tops of head-pins. Bronze distaffs are also of the same general kind as those previously described. Bracelets are of three kinds, viz. a single circle with overlapping ends, a massive single circle with meeting but not overlapping ends, and a spiral with from eight to twelve coils. Finger-rings and hair-rings, always of bronze like the bracelets, are sometimes solid and circular, sometimes of thin wire and penannular. Beads of glass paste and amber occur, as well as bone, but amber is distinctly rare.

The bits for horses are much more perfect, though it may be only that they have survived in better condition, than those of San Vitale and Savena ; several of them (see Plate 4, no. 1) terminate in very well modelled figures of horses. Bronze discs or phalerae from eight to twelve centimetres in diameter, which occur in several tombs—once as a whole set of six—are probably part of the horse-trappings. Vessels of hammered sheet-bronze seem to be entirely absent, which is somewhat remarkable, as very recognizable parts of bronze situlae were found at San Vitale (see above, p. 13). It must not be inferred from this, however, that there had not been great progress in bronze-working, for it is this precise period at Sant' Isaia which is marked by the first appearance of superb bronze girdles.

Three very fine examples of these girdles from tombs 543, 801, and 907, are illustrated in Plate 4.¹ The first tomb, 543, contained two, of which the smaller is illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 74, no. 3. It is lozenge-shaped, 0.47 metre in length and 0.119 metre in maximum height, ornamented with 11 large bosses in repoussé which are arranged in three rows of three with one extra at the end of the middle row. Round the bosses and connecting them are concentric circles, triangles, and wavy lines engraved with the point. Very similar in their simplicity of design and the use of engraving to fill out the minor details are the girdles from tomb 801 (Plate 4, no. 4) and 907 (Plate 4, no. 5). But the larger example from tomb 543 (Plate 4, no. 6) is much more elaborate and advanced in style, the whole of the ornamentation being executed in repoussé without any engraving at all. This girdle is bordered all along the upper and lower edge with a row of small bronze tubes covering a thin bronze rod which evidently served as a stiffening framework to hold the thin metal plate rigid and prevent it from crumpling. With this very fine example should be compared a girdle found at Corneto and illustrated below in Plate 14, no. 18, although it belongs in respect of date to the next period (see p. 53).

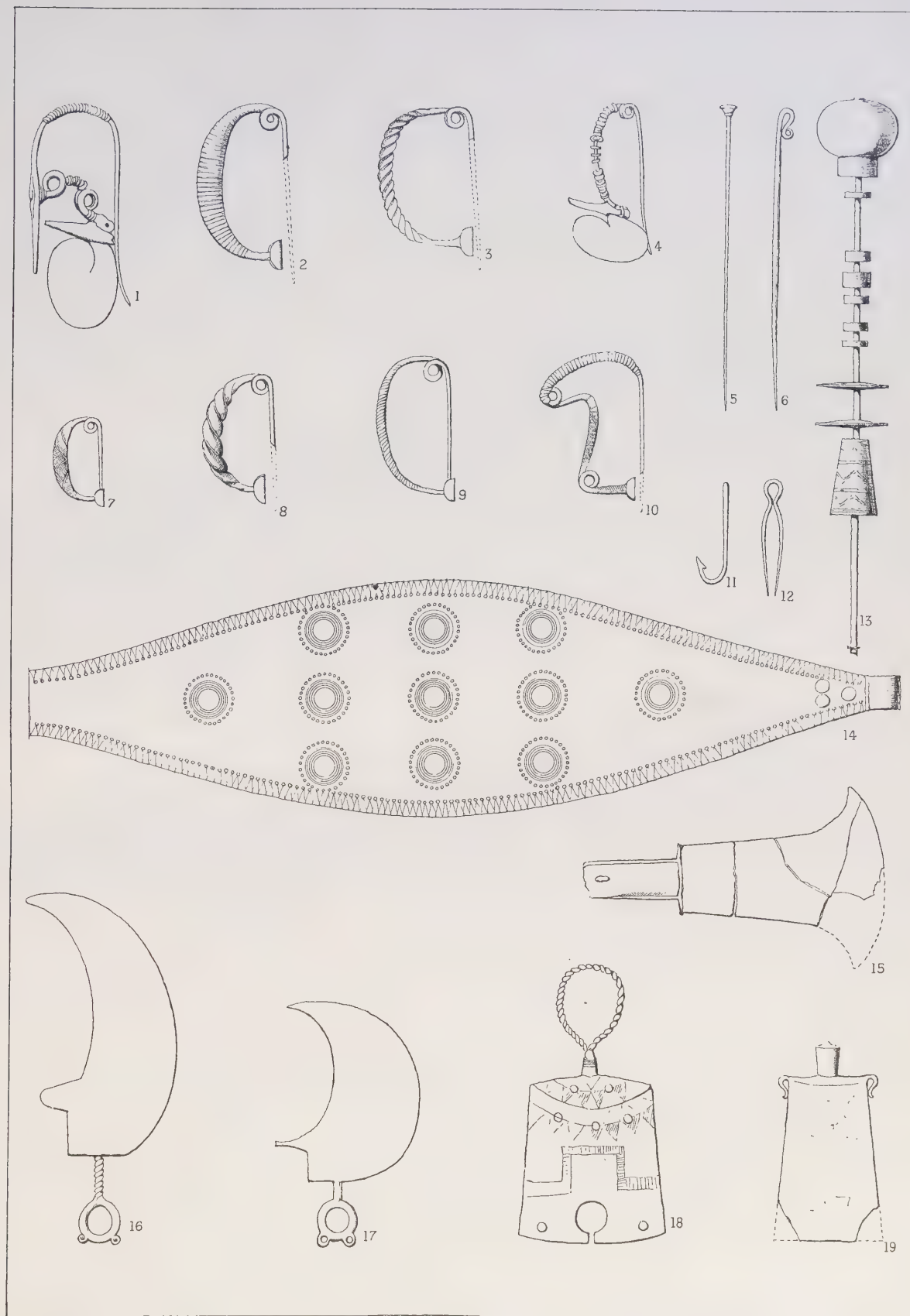
¹ Described and discussed by Orsi in his *Centuroni italici della prima età del ferro*, in *Atti e mem. della R. dep. di storia patria per la prov. di Romagna*, Ser. III, vol. iii., 1885.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 2-4

PLATE 2. BOLOGNA. *The First Benacci period.* Objects in the museum at Bologna, drawn from the originals by F. O. Lawrence. Scale throughout $\frac{3}{8}$. These specimens are all from the cemeteries of San Vitale and Savena. Nos. 1-4 and 7-10 representative types of bronze fibulae. Nos. 5, 6, bronze head-pins. No. 11, bronze fish-hook. No. 12, bronze tweezers. No. 13, object of unknown use, made of bronze with an amber head and discs of amber. No. 14, a horn girdle. No. 15, bronze axe. Nos. 16, 17, semi-lunar bronze razors. No. 18, the very archaic quadrangular razor. No. 19, iron adze with bronze socket.

PLATE 3. BOLOGNA. *The First Benacci period.* Pottery in the Bologna Museum, drawn from originals (nos. 1-3 after photographs) by F. O. Lawrence, except nos. 4-7, which are taken from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plate 75. Nos. 4-7 are from the Sant' Isaia cemeteries, all the rest are from the San Vitale and Savena cemeteries, viz. nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 from San Vitale; nos. 8, 9, 11, 13 from Savena. Scale of nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 is $\frac{1}{8}$ th, of 5 is $\frac{1}{10}$ th. Scale of nos. 8-16 is $\frac{1}{16}$ th.

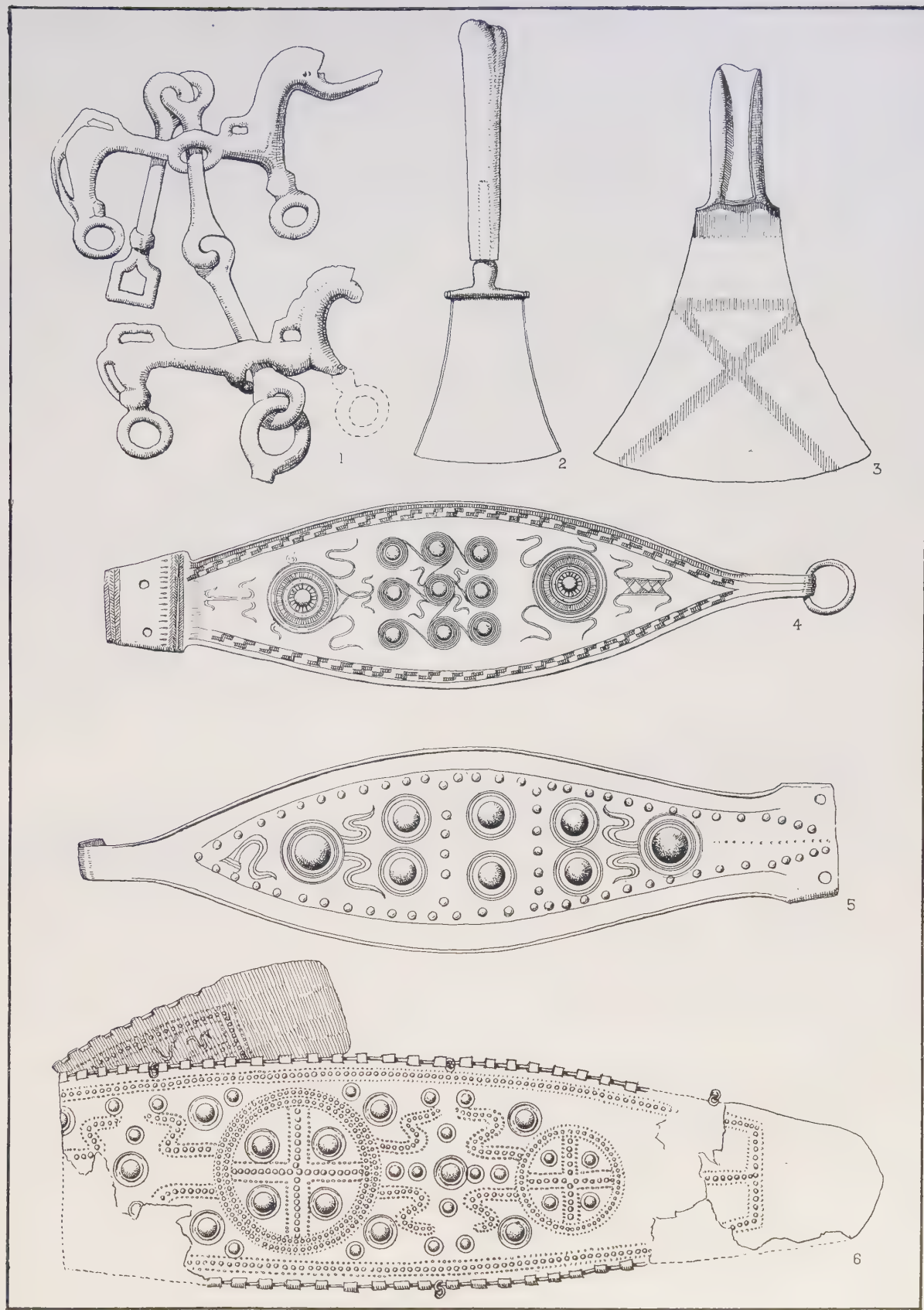
PLATE 4. BOLOGNA. *The First Benacci period.* Bronze objects in the Bologna Museum, from the Sant' Isaia cemeteries. Nos. 1-3 from Montelius, op. cit., Plate 73, scale not quite $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 4, drawn from the original by F. O. Lawrence, scale a little less than $\frac{1}{3}$; no. 5 from Orsi, *Sui centuroni italici*, scale not quite $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 6 from Orsi, scale not quite $\frac{1}{3}$. No. 1 is a bronze horse-bit with a miniature figure of a horse on each side. No. 2 a bronze adze with a handle of bone sheathing the tang. No. 3 a bronze paalstaab. Nos. 4-6, three fine bronze girdles ornamented with designs in repoussé and engraving.



BOLOGNA. First Benacci Period



BOLOGNA. First Benacci Period



BOLOGNA. First Benacci Period

Second Benacci Period. The Sant' Isaia Cemeteries

For the second Benacci period there is available a small amount of published material of the highest quality, viz. Brizio's record of his excavations on the Benacci-Caprara¹ estate in 1887-8.² These were carried out on a part of the same cemetery which had been explored in previous years by Zannoni, and the tomb-groups, together with those derived from Zannoni's work, are exhibited in cases next to those of the first Benacci in the Bologna museum. As to the construction of the graves we learn from Brizio that those which he opened were generally square or oblong fosse instead of round pozzetti; sometimes unprotected by any lining, but sometimes revetted and even covered over on the top with a layer of small stones. Several graves, moreover, were formed by cists of long flat slabs like those described by Gozzadini (cf. *supra*, p. 7). It is obvious, in short, that the great increase in the quantity and bulk of tomb-furniture necessitated the use of more space than was afforded by the round hole which had sufficed for burials of the First Benacci time. Of sixty tombs chronicled by Brizio nine were inhumations,³ containing objects of strictly Villanovan character but apparently, to judge from the scanty evidence, belonging to the Arnoaldi period or at least to a slightly later stage than the fifty-one cremations. One of the cremation-tombs was so extraordinarily rich in objects that an inventory of its contents alone would almost amount to a review of the whole material culture of the period.⁴ Almost equally important is grave 397 from the previous excavations, of which there is no published account. But these are exceptional instances, and for the general characterization of the Second Benacci it is preferable to take the cumulative evidence of the numerous groups exhibited for study.

In general terms it may be said that the Second Benacci period appears as a natural and normal evolution from the First, marked not so much by any abrupt transition as by a great increase in wealth and the multiplication of new materials. Iron, which was so rare before, is now of frequent occurrence.⁵ Glass paste and amber, hitherto only occasionally found, are abundant. The working of bronze has made great strides, so that we find in several tombs

¹ The land had changed hands, so that what in previous years had been known as the Benacci was now the Caprara estate, hence the awkward nomenclature.

² *Not. Sc.* 1889, pp. 288-333.

³ See Brizio's description in *Not. Sc.* 1889, of tombs 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 15, 51, 52, 57.

⁴ Tomb 39. Inventory in Brizio, *op. cit.*,

pp. 316-20; the principal contents are all illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 76. Cf. our Plate 7, nos. 1-7.

⁵ Not one of the tombs in which iron occurs contains any object specially characteristic of the earlier period, and conversely almost every such tomb contains one or more objects of obviously later type than the First Benacci.

superb ossuaries, situlae, censers, and bowls, made by the primitive but skilful process of joining hammered sheets with rows of large bronze rivets. In the pottery some new forms appear in the usual black ware, and there are several instances of a fabric exceedingly rare in previous tombs, viz. a white slip decorated with geometrical designs in red. The development of new decorative motives is also quite perceptible; not only are anitrelle constantly used in the ornamentation of pendants and other bronze objects, but even the schematized human figure occurs on one ossuary,¹ suggesting speculations as to the far-off influence of the Dipylon school of art.

We may first consider the changes and developments in classes of objects which are already familiar from the earlier sites. Among the fibulae the highly differentiated archaic types have disappeared, there are no longer any scudetti or discs, nor any of the serpentine types characteristic of San Vitale and contemporaneous cemeteries. The *arco ritorto* is rare, and only the *sanguisuga* and the commonplace wire bow survive from among the earlier forms. On the other hand the *navicella* or gondola, with its full-rounded contour moulded over a large core and often finely engraved, has become a great favourite and tends to evolve into a new shape by the sharpening of its lines into a lozenge. The short catch-point is often retained, but a longer catch-point often replaces it, especially in some wholly new shapes, such as those shown in Plate 8, nos. 1 and 4-8. A large fibbia rather than fibula, of oblong contour, made of thin wire whipped with an extra strand at top and bottom, is peculiar to the period. In regard to pottery it has already been remarked that there is a distinct enrichment of the *répertoire*, which, however, even now does not include more than about a dozen forms of the usual black ware.²

Ossuaries and their bowls closely resemble those of the full First Benacci period, but the sudden appearance of a pottery 'cista a cordoni', that is to say a cylindrical pail heavily ribbed with strips of clay (Plate 6, no. 6), is important. Apart from such occasional fancy shapes as the 'rhyton', with its figure of a horseman (Plate 6, no. 1), the most interesting new products are the 'censers', standing on a high pedestal which is sometimes cut out into several legs (Plate 6, nos. 7 and 9). As one of these censers has imitation chains made in pottery there can be little doubt that they were copied from bronze originals; and the same may be said of the 'cista a cordoni' and of a miniature pottery table set with a pair of drinking-cups (Plate 6, no. 8). A great deal has been written about the influence of bronze-working on Italian pottery, and it is undoubtedly a real factor; but its importance has often been exaggerated, and it may not be amiss

¹ Ossuary of De Luca, tomb 151.

² Varying, of course, to brown-black, and occasionally, but rarely, to red.

to remember that the series can generally be read in either of the two ways. In these particular instances, however, the priority of the metal form is evident. Among the more ordinary household pottery certain dippers, shaped like small bowls with a long or short loop handle, 'skyphoi' if they may be so termed, now become common; and a more rounded form of bowl is often built on to a funnel-shaped foot. There is also a miniature olla with ear-handles attached to the rim, and a simple jug with a loop handle. There are several instances of geometrical patterns produced by the insertion of strips of metal.¹ Of the rare white-slip fabric ornamented with red designs examples are shown in Plate 6, nos. 4 and 5; there were three in the single tomb 463, and one each in 396 and 490.

Among the implements and weapons the semi-lunar razors are practically unchanged; but a single example is reproduced in Plate 5, nos. 8 and 9, on account of the very remarkable drawings which are incised upon it. One side shows a ship or galley, the only record of the kind ever found amongst the Villanovans. The other side furnishes an exact representation of the bronze axe of the period, hafted on to a long handle presumably of wood.² Bronze axes of this wide-splaying form are found in many Benacci tombs of the second period (Plate 5, no. 2) and mark a perceptible stage of evolution from the less crescent-shaped heads of the first period. Iron axes of an advanced type also occur in several tombs; and there is one instance of an iron blade attached to a bronze socket (Mont. Plate 77, no. 7).

Bronze 'palette-knives' or small adzes, which occur several times, are not appreciably different from those of earlier date; a singularly well-preserved example from tomb 53 is shown in Plate 5, no. 4; it has a bone pommel, below which are discs of bone separated by intervals which must have been filled with some substance which has disappeared. The wavy-bladed knife, which was just beginning to appear in the preceding period, is now a common form. It is found in iron, but more frequently in bronze, cast in one piece either with a short bronze handle or else with a tubular socket for fixing on to a wooden shaft, when it would be used perhaps like a bill or pike (Plate 5, no. 6). No spears were found, for the iron weapon in 929 is probably a dagger; in 173 there is a clear example of an iron dagger with bronze handle. Goads and spits are of the same kind as before, the latter being made either of bronze or iron indifferently. Tomb 188 contains a spit of each metal, and in the same tomb are fragments of an iron sword. There are three examples of bronze swords, but in only one is the hilt perfectly preserved. This is shown in Plate 5, no. 5. It is a slight variation

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1889, pp. 307, 312.

² Contrast the very different type of axe shown below in Figs. 36 and 56 from Vetulonia.

from the simplest type of antennae-handle as it occurred at San Vitale and as it will be seen again at Corneto and Vetulonia (Plates 14 and 25), but it is derived from the same Central-European model. Bronze pendants of thick metal, shaped like the section of a bell, are often found in this period (Plate 5, no. 3); they have a ring at the top for suspension, and sometimes an open slit or chess-board perforations in the body which were probably filled originally with pieces of amber. These are sometimes explained as 'tintinnabula' or gongs; in one case there was found in the same grave a cylindrical bronze object with a boss at each end which may have been the striker. Bronze distaffs are not very different from those of the earlier periods, and there are several fine examples (Plate 5, no. 1); a complete novelty, however, is the bronze spindle with its whorl of the same metal (Mont. Plate 80, no. 8) from tomb 56.

Bracelets are of several kinds. A plain circle, round in section with overlapping ends, is made sometimes of bronze and sometimes of iron, quite heavy and solid. An armlet of hollow bronze, thick in the centre and tapering to each end, is a new form (Plate 5, no. 7); the ends do not always overlap but sometimes only just meet. Another new type is the completely joined circle, made in bronze with three pairs of small knobs at regular intervals round the circumference (Plate 5, no. 10). A third new type (tombs 317, 653, and 825) is composed of small oblong plaques of bone alternating with similar plaques of amber set in a narrow frame of flat sheet bronze. Finger-rings, hair-rings, and ear-rings are much like those of the First Benacci. Head-pins, always of bronze, have become much more varied and decorative; the simplest are plain rods ending at the top in a spiral or a bronze globe. Wheel-headed pins are numerous. With the lavish use of glaze in this period it becomes customary to have a very modern-looking top to the pin, made of glazed clay or even glass. These tops are spheres of a centimetre or two centimetres in diameter; the ground being blue, with spots or zig-zag lines in bright yellow.

Beads of glass paste or glaze, rare in the earlier period, are now exceedingly common and sometimes quite large. They are generally blue with small white eyes, or sometimes yellow with a blue centre, and are often strung on fibulae. Amber is abundant and very freely used; large chunks of it are mounted on the bows of fibulae, shaped to a form which imitates the bronze navicella, or else into an oval like a lozenge with the angles rounded. Sometimes the navicella shape is produced by several wedge-shaped pieces or discs of bone and amber alternating.

Brizio records an instance¹ in which the actual body of a horse was buried close to a Villanovan tomb, as if belonging to it. This particular tomb (no. 11)

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1889, p. 303.

did not contain horse-bits or any parts of harness, but they often occurred in this period, just as they occurred at San Vitale and all through the First Benacci period, nor is there any perceptible change of type. With the horse-bits are associated (e. g. tomb 494) bronze discs or phalerae, which are probably to be regarded as belonging to the harness, although it has been suggested that they may have been the bosses of a shield. As they are found in sets, however, this is not very probable, and the real type of shield is well exemplified by one found in tomb 340. This is about 30 centimetres in diameter with a simple geometrical pattern in repoussé. Bronze girdles, of which there were such notable examples in the last period, occurred in only one tomb, viz. 543, which contains a fine specimen ornamented with designs of circles in repoussé.

A very important and interesting advance in bronze working is to be seen in the series of vessels illustrated in Plate 7; which are made from sheets of bronze hammered by hand. In the larger vessels two or more sheets are used, the upper sheet is bent over the lower and then fastened to it with a row of large-headed bronze nails. Of this technique the finest examples are the great ossuaries (Plate 7, nos. 1 and 8) in which the studs of the nails have a very decorative effect; the high foot, however, is not nailed but soldered on to the bottom of the vase. The examples of bronze vessels shown in our plate come from the two unusually rich tombs, 39 and 397; but it must not be supposed that these two tombs have a monopoly, for superb bronze ossuaries were found also in tombs 53 and 494, situlae in 33, 53, 70, and 103, bronze tables in 71, 73, and 74, censers in 15 and 220, and small spherical dippers in 172 and 340, besides various other vessels and fragments in several other tombs. This comparatively wide dispersion over the cemetery is a fact of considerable significance, as it shows that we are not dealing with one or two sporadic instances of importation. And in this connexion it must be remembered that bronze bowls and fragments of bronze situlae found at San Vitale prove the manufacture to date back at least to the beginning of the First Benacci period. Ghirardini wrote his remarkable memoir on the entire subject of Italian bronze situlae¹ before the discovery of San Vitale, so that he was not able to weigh this evidence, which is of capital importance for interpreting the problems of date and origin, for the particular interest of this entire group of bronze vessels in the Second Benacci cemetery lies in the suggestive parallels that it affords with the bronze work found in other parts of Italy and especially in Etruria. Thus at Vetulonia, where there was an extraordinarily flourishing bronze industry, which starts with the same primitive technique but soon develops into much greater excellence, there are specimens which may fairly be compared for style and workmanship to those

¹ Ghirardini, *La situla italica primitiva*. See Pt. 1 in *Moni. Antichi*, vol. ii, pp. 161-251.

of the Bolognese Villanovans.¹ There are others again at Narce and Chiusi.² And of the bronzes in the Warrior's Tomb at Corneto one is so like the ossuaries shown in Plate 7 from the Benacci tombs that it might almost be supposed to be a product of the same workshops (see Plate 30, no. 11).

Where, then, was the centre of this bronze-working industry, and under what influences was it formed? Ghirardini, who discusses the Villanovan *situlae* so far as they were then known in his memoir also already mentioned, argues that the original home of all this work was among the Etruscans, who developed it under Phoenician influence. But it is not at all certain that the Etruscan examples which he quotes are actually earlier than those of the Sant' Isaia cemeteries at Bologna, for we cannot grade the Second Benacci tombs sufficiently exactly to say whether such bronzes as are shown in Plate 7 belong to the earlier or the later part of the Second Benacci period. If they belong to the earlier part then they certainly antedate all Etruscan products. But even if the Sant' Isaia specimens should prove to be no earlier than those of the Warrior's Tomb³ at least the *situlae* of San Vitale must be much earlier than either.⁴ This would be proof, then, that the Northern Villanovans used vessels made of hammered bronze several generations before the Etruscans ever set foot in Italy, and so it is impossible to credit the Etruscans with the invention of this remarkable new technique.⁵ Consequently it is unnecessary, and in the present stage of our knowledge unreasonable, to attribute it to the Phoenicians; for there is no evidence whatsoever to show that the Phoenicians traded directly up the Adriatic. It is only possible, indeed, to trace their influence in Italy with any certainty at a time considerably subsequent to the first appearance of the Etruscans themselves. So that it is more natural to regard this entire new development of bronze working either as the spontaneous invention of the native Villanovans, or else as the result of an inspiration derived from their neighbours in Central Europe or the Balkans.⁶ It tells, perhaps, slightly in favour of this latter view that antennae-swords, which are generally regarded as the peculiar invention of the north, are found together with the bronze vessels in the very same graves at Bologna, both in the First and the Second Benacci periods.

¹ Especially the two ossuaries at Le Pelliccie (Fig. 47); cf. also the *situlae* found in the Tomba del Duce and the tombs of Le Pelliccie and Acquastrini, and high-footed vessels in the Circle of the Trident and Val di Campo (see below, Plates 22-26).

² See examples figured in Montelius, Plates 217, 218, 313, and our own Plate 34.

³ See our treatment of this tomb on pp. 158-61.

⁴ Not to speak of the traces of *situlae* in the

Fonderia di S. Francesco; see Zannoni, *La Fonderia di San Francesco*, Plate 45, or Montelius, Plate 71, no. 22. Whatever may be thought of the Fonderia it certainly does not come down to the Arnoaldi period.

⁵ See further remarks on pp. 52, 53.

⁶ Though we do not suggest that any cemeteries yet discovered in those countries are sufficiently ancient to prove this.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 5, 6, 7

PLATE 5. BOLOGNA. *The Second Benacci period.* Bronze objects from the Sant' Isaia cemeteries. Nos. 1, 2, 5 drawn by F. O. Lawrence from the originals; the others are from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 76, 77, 78, 80.

No. 1, distaff, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 2, axe, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 3, tintinnabulum with amber centre, scale $\frac{2}{3}$; no. 4, adze, with bone discs on the handle, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 5, sword, scale $\frac{1}{4}$; no. 6, iron wavy-bladed knife, scale $\frac{1}{4}$; no. 7, bracelet with overlapping ends, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; nos. 8, 9 two sides of a semi-lunar razor, engraved with figures of an axe and of a boat, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 10, bracelet, scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

The scales quoted are a little in excess, they stand in the ratio of 15 : 14 to the exact scale; thus the length of the sword is actually 0.60 m.

PLATE 6. BOLOGNA. *The Second Benacci period.* Pottery from the Sant' Isaia cemeteries; all from Montelius, op. cit., Plates 76, 81, except no. 4, which is from Grenier, op. cit., p. 236. Scale of all the examples except no. 4, for which no scale is given in the publication, is $\frac{1}{3}$ th.

The two pots, 4, 5, which are painted with geometrical designs in red on a white ground, are especially to be observed.

PLATE 7. BOLOGNA. *The Second Benacci period.* Vessels made of hammered bronze plates, fastened together with nails, which come to be employed as a motive of decoration. All from the Sant' Isaia cemeteries.

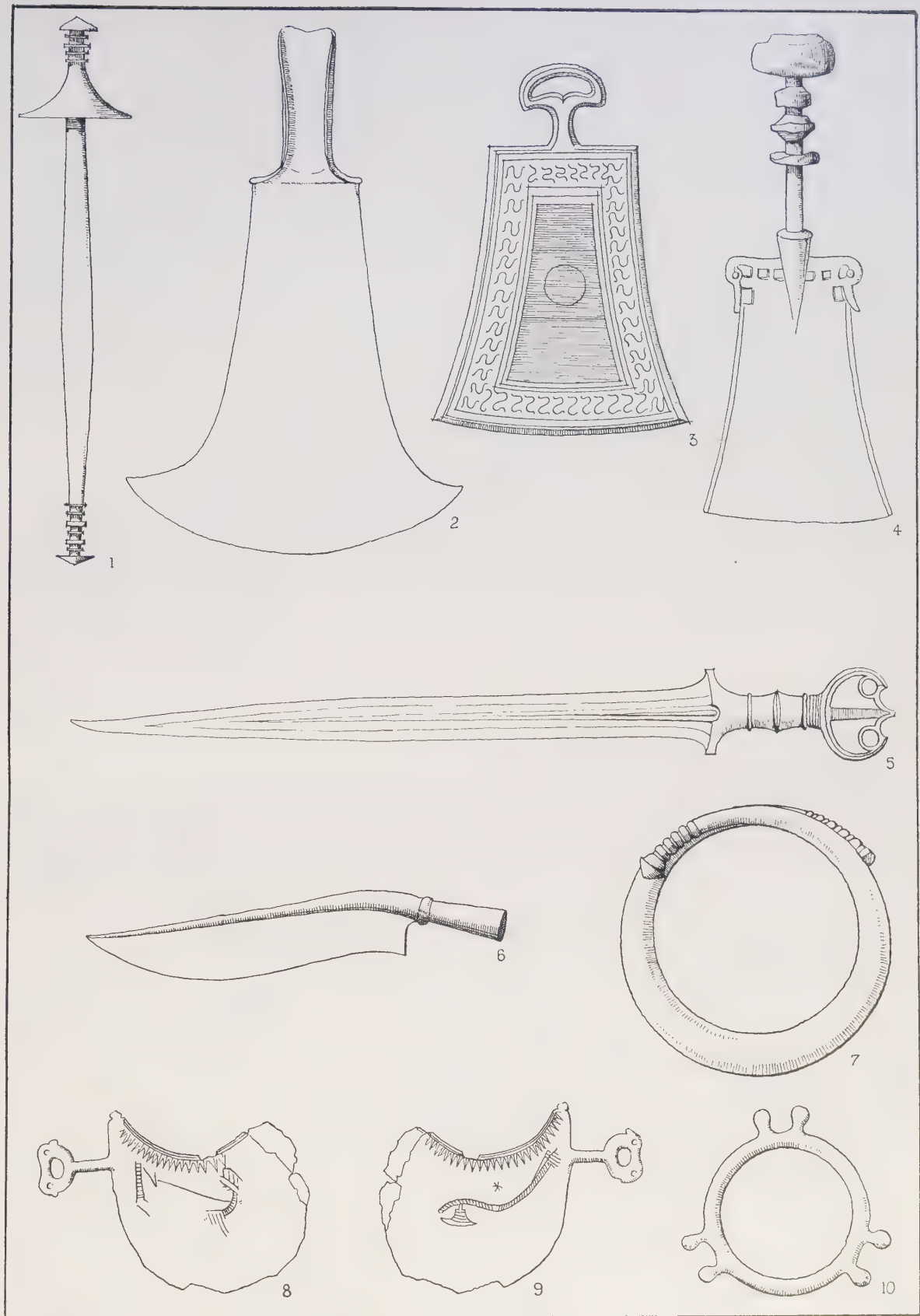
Nos. 1-7 from *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1889, tav. 1.

Nos. 8-10 from Montelius, op. cit., Plate 81.

Scale of nos. 1 and 8, is $\frac{1}{8}$; of all the rest is $\frac{1}{6}$.

Nos. 1-7 were found together in the same tomb, no. 39.

Nos. 8-10 were found together in the same tomb, no. 397.



BOLOGNA. Second Benacci Period



BOLOGNA. Second Benacci Period



BOLOGNA. Second Benacci Period

The Arnoaldi Period

The third stage of the Villanovan culture as found at Bologna is named the *Arnoaldi period* from that part of the Sant' Isaia cemeteries in which it was principally found. The Arnoaldi estate is immediately west of the Benacci, and therefore last in the topographical series which begins at the Ravona outside the Sant' Isaia gate. Immediately west of the Villanovan cemetery, but separated from it as Gozzadini showed by a clear interval of 56 metres, begin the Etruscan cemeteries. No Villanovan burial was ever found in the Etruscan area, nor conversely was there even the slightest indication of any Etruscan burial among the Villanovans. The two sets of cemeteries are absolutely distinct and there is no possibility of any confusion between them.

The results of Zannoni's excavations on this site were never published by himself ; but Gozzadini, who was at that time official director for the archaeology of the district, considered that they were too important to be left unchronicled, and brought out a report entitled *Intorno agli scavi fatti dal Sig. Arnoaldi Veli*.¹ This annoyed Zannoni, who violently repudiated the publication, stating that it was full of inaccuracies and confusion. It is impossible not to sympathize with both sides in this unfortunate dispute, which, however, renders the position of the student somewhat difficult. But we may, no doubt, safely assume that Gozzadini's report is trustworthy so far as all general description is concerned, and he enters hardly at all into the details of tomb groups.² It is probably in agreement with this view that the directors of the Museum at Bologna have exhibited the material from the Arnoaldi cemetery *en masse*, and not according to the contents of the individual tombs. In this form it adapts itself very well for purposes of general comparison and contrast with the two Benacci Series, and, fortunately, it can be checked and corroborated by the individual groups from the Melenzani, Stradello della Certosa, and Arsenal sites. These were discovered later and have never been published, but are admirably exhibited for purposes of study. The following description and conclusions are based on a comparison of all these cemeteries, the contents of which are perfectly harmonious and consistent.

Viewing the Arnoaldi period as a whole we are struck with its unmistakable and strongly-marked individuality. Almost any small combination of objects from a tomb of this time could be unerringly attributed to its proper stage in the Villanovan series even without documentary details as to its finding. It is not so much that there is any radical change but that the whole scope has been

¹ Bologna, 1877.

² The principal contents of Gozzadini's plates are published by Montelius in his Plates 82-6.

broadened and enriched. Iron is used not only freely but with prodigality. Bronze vessels show little new development, but are so common that there is an entire row of situlae from the Arnoaldi site alone. Pure glass, not merely glaze, is abundant. Occasional rare pieces of Etruscan goldsmiths' work appear. It is clear, in short, that contact with a new and vitalizing school of foreign art is affecting and slowly transforming the stubborn old native traditions, while leaving the groundwork of original custom untouched.

The most characteristic changes are those which can be seen in the pottery. The general form of the standard ossuary is often preserved, but its exact shape is evidently not determined by any prejudice of religious conservatism. Side by side with the conventional Villanovan urn, as shown in Plate 9, no. 10, there are many variations and degradations of it, such as Plate 9, nos. 6 and 8, as well as distant evolutions (Plate 9, nos. 5 and 7) which have almost lost all the salient points of the original. The bowl, which in earlier periods was the invariable covering of the ossuary, is becoming a shallow dish or platter without any handle, sometimes so large that if its history were not known it might be mistaken for an imitation shield. Pottery imitations of situlae have become very frequent (Plate 9, nos. 1 and 9); but otherwise there are few new forms in the accessory vases, and the *répertoire* of pottery types is not very appreciably increased. The great innovation in the pottery is in the technique and detail of the decoration. As to the technique this consists in substituting stamps for freehand work. Throughout the Benacci period the patterns on pottery were engraved freehand with a point; now they are impressed with a stamp cut in relief which produces hollow figures of mechanical regularity upon the surface of the clay.¹ By a converse use of the stamp it may be cut into deep lines and channels so as to bring out maeanders and ridges in strong relief upon the pottery. The almost invariable employment of these mechanical devices gives an appearance to all the larger vases of the Arnoaldi period which is in striking contrast to those of the older time.

Even more significant, however, is the change in the character of the designs. The original old motives of maeander, chevron, and circle have not disappeared, but sometimes together with them and sometimes separate appear new designs which are evidently supplanting them in popularity. The 'anitrella', or duck, which occurred not uncommonly in bronze work of the Second Benacci period, but was very rare in the pottery, has now become the most frequent of all the decorative motives. It is found not only in well-cut stamps where the head and whole form of the bird can be clearly distinguished (Plate 9, nos. 1-4),

¹ Grenier suggests very plausibly (op. cit., p. 255) that fragments of repoussé bronze may have been used as stamps.

but also in a cursive form in which the zoomorphic original can hardly be recognized. This may be seen in the lower part of the situla in Plate 9, no. 1, and it recurs very frequently in different combinations, e. g. with rosettes, small circles, triangles, crosses, and broken maeanders. Second to the duck in respect of popularity, but even more important as marking a stage in the history of decoration, is the motive of the human figure, which is now very freely used in a schematized form. Three representative instances are shown in Plate 9, nos. 2, 3, 4, from Gozzadini's original excavations at Villanova which are often useful as supplementing the other Arnoaldi material. There are equally good examples, however, to be observed in tombs from the Stradello della Certosa and Melenzani as well as from the Arnoaldi site itself. Occasionally (Arnoaldi tomb 39) the figure of an animal, a dog or lion, is also represented. It is tempting to see in these new developments some indirect influence of the Greek Dipylon style, and a possible link is furnished by the site of Bisenzio where a painted vase was found which strongly suggests direct imitation of Dipylon originals (see below, p. 171, and fig. 60). It is only fair, however, to remember that the germs of a zoomorphic school were detected in the first two periods of Benacci.

Fibulae have changed considerably since the Second Benacci period, and types which were then just beginning to appear have now driven out all the others. The most usual shapes are shown in our Plate 8, nos. 9-15, and there is a large representative series in Montelius, Plate 83. It will be seen that the short catch-plate has almost completely vanished, and that a very long one has replaced it even for the sanguisuga and navicella forms. The simple wire bow is, of course, often retained because it lends itself to decoration by threading with pieces of amber, bone, and glass, but otherwise the older shapes have gone. The use of fancy types in which the body is formed of an animal or a bird is quite in the new spirit of the time (Mont., Plate 83, nos. 7, 13, 14). One of the most representative and typical fibulae in the Arnoaldi period is the kind shown in Plate 8, no. 5, which began to occur in the Second Benacci and is especially interesting because it is found also in Etruscan Vetulonia. As showing the fallacy of the argument that the use of iron for fibulae is a sign of the rarity of the metal, we may point out that iron fibulae are actually found at this late stage in an Arsenal tomb.

The *Certosa type* of fibula is not found at all in the Arnoaldi graves, which confirms our view that the Villanovan cemeteries at Bologna do not continue in use for any appreciable time after the establishment of the Etruscans in their neighbourhood.¹ This is one of the arguments to show that the Arnoaldi period

¹ The earliest indication of the Etruscans at Bologna is furnished by a black-figured Attic vase which von Duhn dates to about 550 B.C. This was found not in the Certosa but in a tomb of the Giardino Margherita, and may be a sporadic discovery. The Certosa cemetery is not quite so

closes at about 500 B. C. In all respects, indeed, the contrast of the Arnoaldi and Certosa cemeteries is very marked. Even apart from the total absence in the Arnoaldi tombs of any Greek pottery, and the corresponding absence in the Etruscan graves of any Villanovan products,¹ it is very noticeable that all the Certosan forms of bronze-work are totally different. On the other hand there are distinct traces of commerce and intercourse between the Arnoaldi Villanovans and the Etruscans of Vetulonia. As the date of Vetulonia is eighth century B. C.² this is perfectly consistent.

It is to Vetulonian influence that we should ascribe the more decorative forms of handles and lids in a few small bronze vessels, especially the floral top in Plate 10, no. 6. In contrast with these the larger bronze vessels, 'ciste' and 'situle' (Plate 10, nos. 9-12) show very little advance or change from the types of the Second Benacci. The situla, however, has become exceedingly common, and either a bronze or pottery example is found in almost every grave. Its decoration is still confined to the very simplest geometrical elements, rows and groups of bosses in repoussé divided by lines and bands; there are no zoomorphic designs, no representations of scenes or human figures, nor even any of the incised floral motives which occur on the best work at Vetulonia.

The weapons and implements of the Arnoaldi period are remarkable for the prodigal use of iron, which has become a perfectly common material employed without the slightest economy. Very characteristic are huge blades like pikes, thirty or forty centimetres in length, of the shapes shown on a smaller scale in Mont., Plate 82, nos. 19-21. There is an entire row of these, all from different tombs, in the principal exhibition-case, as well as a fine specimen in another case from the site of the Arsenal. Similarly there is an entire row of iron axes, principally of the simple shape shown in Mont., Plate 89, no. 4, from a number of different tombs. There are three iron swords, two of which come from a single tomb at the Arsenal, and in the same tomb is a 'palette-knife' set in a handle of bronze. Other remarkable specimens are an iron mace about 60 centimetres long, with an acorn-shaped head, and an object somewhat like a boomerang of about the same length. There are iron horse-bits, which show no new features, but it is interesting to see iron chariot-wheels appear for the first time. In bronze it is to be observed that a paalstaab form still survives and that the wavy-bladed knives of the previous period continue in bronze as well as iron. Bronze saws (Mont., Plate 82, nos. 11, 17) appear for the first time, and bronze arrow-heads, which have not been previously observed. Razors of the

early. For this vase see *Atti e mem. della R. Dep. di Storia patria per la prov. di Romagna*, Ser. III, vol. viii, 1890, pp. 1-18.

¹ The only possible exception is ably discussed by Grenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-8.

² See pp. 157, 230.

semi-lunar form have wholly disappeared, being apparently replaced by knives. There are no spits to be seen and no goads. Distaffs are generally like those of the earlier time; they are occasionally ornamented with small pieces of bone which give a more decorative appearance to the head.

Personal ornaments are for the most part very similar to those of the Second Benacci, except for the fibulae, which have been already described. Two new forms of bronze head-pins are shown in Plate 10, nos. 3, 4; there are several instances of bronze pins with anitrella heads, and one, from the Stradello della Certosa, surmounted by a small bronze figure of a man. Among the bracelets and armlets the old spiral and penannular bangles continue, but the principal favourite is the Second Benacci type shown in Plate 10, no. 1. A handsome bracelet illustrated in Plate 10, no. 5, is of bronze inlaid with plaques of bone and amber like one in the Second Benacci. Bracelets of solid bone also occur. There is a single example of a bronze girdle, important as showing that they have not gone out of use, and numerous bronze clasps, perhaps from leather girdles (Mont., Pl. 82, nos. 13-15). Beads of clear glass, generally blue, are frequent; and cylinders of parti-coloured glass, 4 or 5 centimetres long, are used for mounting on fibulae.



FIG. 3. Stele from a Benacci grave. After *Not. Scavi*, 1893, p. 181.

Occasionally during the Arnoaldi period a style of tomb was adopted which has been discovered in other parts of Italy both on Etruscan and Villanovan sites. This was a *dolio* or immense jar, used to contain the ossuary and tomb furniture. In several instances dolio-burials were marked by sandstone stelae roughly carved with rosettes, human figures, or animals.¹ One stele of this kind actually occurs as early as the Second Benacci. It represents a man armed with spear and mace standing between two dogs with two large rosettes above him, an unexpectedly daring adventure in art for this early date.

¹ See the illustrations and descriptions in *villanovienne et étrusque*, pp. 416-32. Cf. also the *Not. Sc.* 1893, pp. 177-90. Cf. Grenier, *Bologne* article by Ducati in *Rendiconti Lincei*, 1910.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 8, 9, 10

PLATE 8. BOLOGNA. *Second Benacci period, nos. 1-8, and Arnoaldi period, nos. 9-15.* Typical bronze fibulae, from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 79 and 83.

No. 7 is threaded with pieces of amber, no. 8 with pieces of bone, the form of no. 13 is built of wedges of bone inlaid with pieces of amber. All from the Sant' Isaia cemeteries.

Scale of nos. 1 and 15 is a little smaller than $\frac{1}{2}$, of no. 4 a little smaller than $\frac{3}{4}$, of nos. 5 and 6, a little smaller than $\frac{2}{3}$, of all the rest it is a little less than full size.

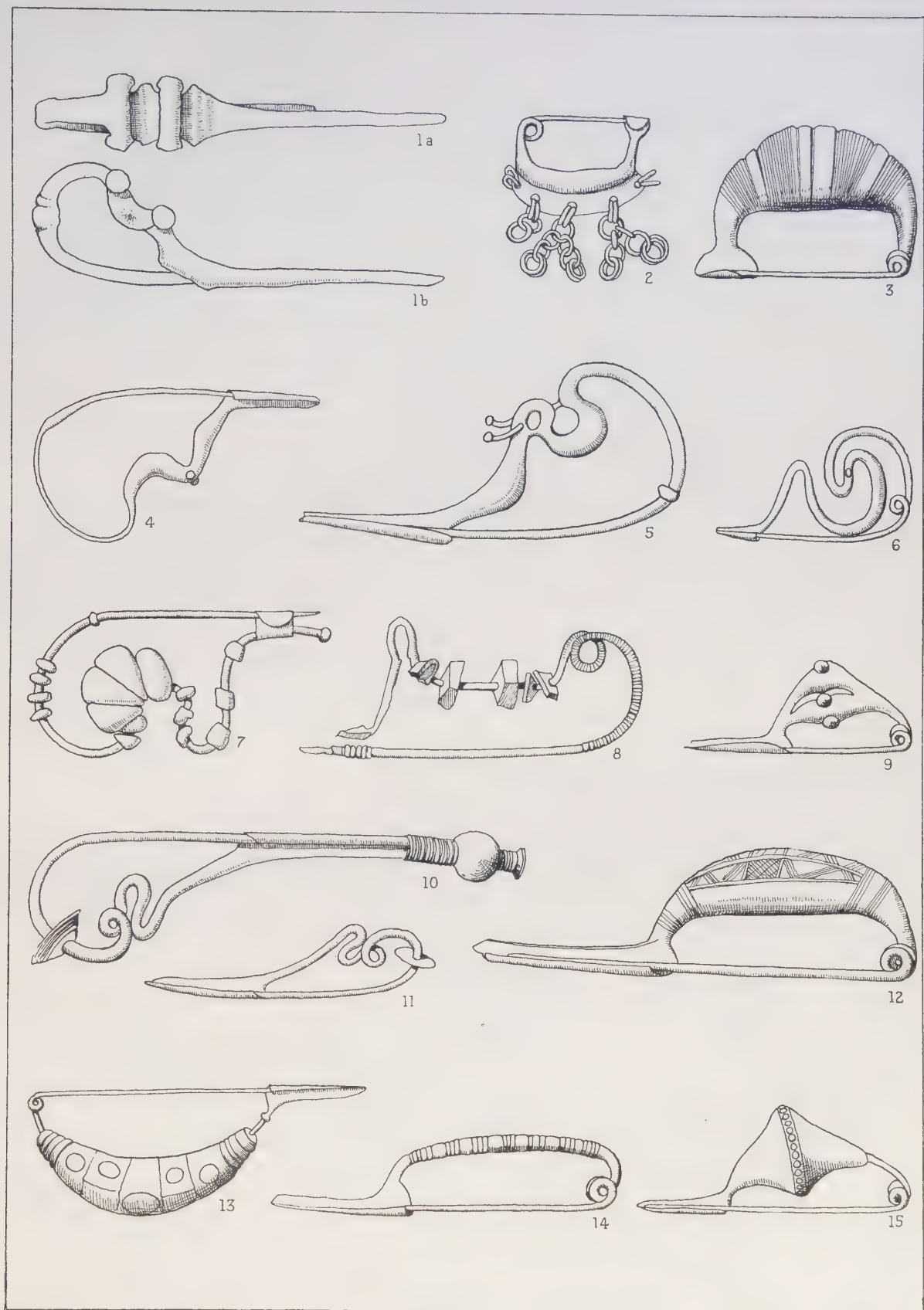
PLATE 9. BOLOGNA. *Arnoaldi period.* Typical specimens of the pottery. Nos. 2, 3, 4 are from the original cemetery of Villanova, the rest from the Sant' Isaia cemetery of Arnoaldi.

All from Montelius, op. cit., Plates 85, 92, after Gozzadini, *Di un sepolcreto etrusco scoperto presso Bologna* and *Intorno agli scavi fatti dal Signor Arnoaldi Veli.*

Scale of nos. 1-4 is $\frac{1}{3}$; scale of nos. 5, 8, 9, 10 is $\frac{1}{4}$; scale of nos. 6 and 7 is $\frac{1}{5}$.

PLATE 10. BOLOGNA. *Arnoaldi period.* Typical metal-work. All from the Sant' Isaia cemetery of Arnoaldi, except no. 9, which is from Villanova itself. No. 2 is iron, the remainder are all bronze; no. 5 is bronze inlaid with bone and amber.

From Montelius, op. cit., Plate 86 and Plate 91 (9 only), after Gozzadini, op. cit. Nos. 1 and 5 are on scale $\frac{1}{2}$; nos. 2, 9, 10, 11 are $\frac{1}{3}$; no. 3 is full size; nos. 4 and 7 are scale $\frac{1}{3}$; nos. 6, 8, 12, 13 are $\frac{1}{4}$.



BOLOGNA. Fibulae of Second Benacci (Nos. 1-8) and of Arnoaldi Period (Nos. 9-15)



BOLOGNA. Arnoaldi Period



Chronology of the Villanovan Cemeteries

It was said in a preceding paragraph that there are distinct traces of intercourse and commerce between the Arnoaldi Villanovans and the Etruscans of Vetulonia. The direct evidence of this is furnished by the contents of a tomb at the Arsenal described by Gozzadini.¹

This tomb was one of a group of five, but the other four had been completely plundered. The intact grave was about 3 metres below the surface and consisted of a *dolio* or immense jar covered with a slab of stone. Within the jar was the pottery ossuary, with its cover, and several other pottery vases, the style and technique of which (maeander patterns stamped in high relief) prove them conclusively to be of the Arnoaldi period.² Among the objects in the grave a bronze pendant, like the usual tintinnabula, and a bronze palette-knife cast in one piece with its handle, as well as five bronze armlets and one of iron, might well form part of any ordinary Villanovan tomb of the period. And the same may be said of the bronze fibulae inlaid with pieces of amber or threaded with alternate discs of bone and amber, and of the bronze head-pins topped with bronze discs or spheres of glass. All the other objects are new and strange in an Arnoaldi grave, but with one exception they can be exactly paralleled from the Etruscan cemetery of Vetulonia. Thus the small glaze pendant in human form, the amber pendants carved into fanciful shapes, including one like a fish, and the miniature lotus-column of blue glass, can be matched from many tombs detailed below in Chapter V. Together with the gold fibula and the gold headband presently to be described they would form a completely characteristic outfit for any of the Vetulonians who were roughly contemporary with the Tomba del Duce. And the curious bronze pin with its small human mask (Mont., Plate 87, no. 7), though actually unique, might well belong to the same school of art.

The two absolutely distinctive ornaments which are almost indisputably products of the Vetulonian workshops are a gold fibula covered with small figures of lions executed in granulated work, and a narrow headband made of gold filigree united by four masks of human heads.³ The fibula (Fig. 4) is to be compared in all respects with the examples of granulated technique shown in Plate 27 and discussed in the sections on Vetulonian jewellery (Chapter V). Its short catch-plate is the only peculiarity by which it is distinguished from

¹ *Intorno ad alcuni sepolcri scavati nell' arsenale militare di Bologna*. Bologna, 1875.

² The only vase actually illustrated by Gozzadini is copied by Montelius and reproduced together with the other objects from the tomb in his Plate 87,

nos. 1-15. The filigree headband, however, is not adequately shown in the plate.

³ These are discussed by Karo in Milani's *Studi e materiali* i, p. 257 and ii, p. 117.

these; all the details of ornamentation and the method of execution are exactly similar.

The headband, Fig. 5, belongs to a class of ornaments of which Karo has cited several for comparison.¹

The most interesting and important analogy is that of a very similar headband found at Bisenzio and illustrated in Plate 32, no. 5 (see below, p. 171).

The little gold masks by which the filigree is held together are to be compared with the masks on the Vetulonian bracelets from La Pietrera and Le Migliarine; only two of them appear in the illustration, but there are really four. Another band of similar workmanship was found in fragments, which differed from the example here shown in being silver instead of gold, though the masks at least seem to have been overlaid with gold leaf. Possibly, as Gozzadini suggests, the



FIG. 4. Gold fibula found in an Arsenal tomb. From *Studi e materiali*, ii, fig. 281. Full size.

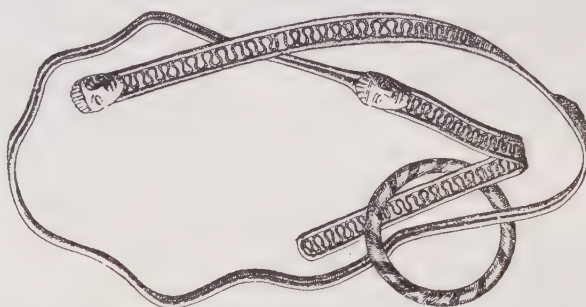


FIG. 5. Gold headband found in an Arsenal tomb. From *Studi e materiali*, ii, p. 117. Full size.

fragments may represent *two* silver ornaments, viz. a pair of ear-rings as well as a headband.

If these two examples of gold-work are rightly ascribed to Vetulonia they provide at once not only a proof of trading but a most valuable synchronism of date between Vetulonia and the Arnoaldi period. Vetulonia, as we shall show in Chapter V must be dated in the main to the eighth century, and these particular products, combining the granulated and the repoussé technique, ought to belong neither to the beginning nor to the end of Vetulonian history. They can hardly be later at any rate than the tombs of Le Migliarine which we date to about 700.² Accordingly we may say that a typical Arnoaldi grave is dated to about 750 or 700 B. C., and with this assistance we may try to establish the length of the whole period.

Its latest extension has been seen already to be 500 B. C., because it does not

¹ *Studi e materiali*, ii, p. 117.

² Three silver leech-fibulae with a line of filigree-work down the back, similar to Vetulonian examples discussed by Karo *Studi e materiali*, i, p. 249, may be seen in the Bologna museum. They

come from the site of Cortesi and belong therefore to the Arnoaldi period. No Vetulonian jewellery has ever been found in any Bolognese tomb earlier than Arnoaldi, so far as is known.

come down beyond the beginning of the Etruscan Certosa. The new synchronism with Vetulonia carries it back to 700 or perhaps 750 B.C. Is the Arnoaldi period appreciably longer than this? There is no sufficient reason to think so. At present it is not possible to subdivide and grade the Arnoaldi tombs in any sequence, so that no one can say whether this particular Arsenal grave marks an early or late stage in the period. But two full centuries is a sufficient length of time to account for the amount of material which has been recovered from the cemeteries, and there is no such important evolution of style as would seem to demand any longer space. We may be content, therefore, for the present to consider that the Arnoaldi period covers two hundred or two hundred and fifty years, viz. 750 or 700 B.C. to 500 B.C.

It is even more difficult, however, to find any criterion by which to judge the length of the two Benacci periods. A few considerations may be brought forward, and on these we may hazard a conjectural dating which must be subject to amendment and rectification in the light of any and all discoveries that may be made in the future. First, then, we should emphasize the point which was made in the description of the earliest First Benacci period, viz. that even in such early cemeteries as San Vitale and Savena a considerable length of time must have elapsed since the close of the Bronze Age. The types in these cemeteries are already those of the fully developed early Iron Age, with only one or two occasional survivals. In agreement with this we find that not only all Mycenaean but also all sub-Mycenaean products are wholly absent. This is not a strong argument, as the remoteness of the Bolognese from the natural avenues of Greek commerce would be almost sufficient explanation; but it derives some support from the southern Villanovan sites in Etruria and Latium. These seem to go back to a date as early as any in the Bolognese district, and yet they show no trace whatever of Mycenaean or sub-Mycenaean influence, although they lie in the natural path of sea trade from Greece and Sicily. The fact is all the more significant because the site of Bisenzio in Etruria at least is proved to have been in contact with Greece during the Dipylon period (see below, pp. 171, 172).

Such general considerations, then, make it *a priori* reasonable to conjecture that the beginning of the First Benacci may be between 1100 and 1000 B.C. This harmonizes with the necessity for finding a place between the Bronze Age and the First Benacci for certain transitional cemeteries like Bismantova and Fontanella, which will be mentioned in Chapter IV. The only strongly characteristic object of foreign importation which occurs in the First Benacci period warns us against placing its date much higher than 1000. This is the antennae type of sword which is known at Hallstatt and is known at Vetulonia. That is to say

it was in use about 800 B. C., and it does not seem reasonable to give it a much longer life than two centuries.¹

Provisionally, therefore, we would place the beginning of the Benacci periods in the Bolognese district at some time in the eleventh century and their end at 750 or 700 B. C. And still more provisionally we would distribute these centuries between the two Benacci periods in the proportion of about one to two, inasmuch as the second period seems to contain such a much larger quantity and variety of material than the first. Before proceeding, therefore, to review the Villanovan civilization of Etruria and Latium we will outline the chronology as follows :

First Benacci period about 1050 to 950 B. C.

Second Benacci period about 950 to 750 or 700 B. C.

Arnoaldi period 750 or 700 to 500 B. C.

¹ I find myself quite unable to use the great hoard of bronzes from the Foundry of San Francesco for any argument whatsoever. This extraordinarily interesting and valuable find includes types ranging apparently through several entire periods which cannot have been in use simultaneously, and may have been collected from sites already forgotten and disused. There are too many uncertainties and conjectures in regard to the origin and purpose of this deposit for any convincing interpretation to be based upon it. For a description and illustration of its contents see Montelius, *Civ. Prim.*, cols. 333-56 and Plates 66-72.

NOTE.—The student must be warned against the danger of confusion in page-references to the *Notizie degli Scavi* for the years preceding 1886. There are extant two sets of copies in which the pages are differently numbered though the contents are identical. This is apparently due to the inclusion or exclusion of articles properly belonging to the 'Memorie', which are sometimes numbered consecutively with the *Notizie*. To avoid this difficulty I have quoted, whenever possible, the month rather than the page for all volumes earlier than Vol. II of the Fourth Series. From January 1886 onwards the pagination, so far as I can ascertain, is uniform in all copies.

III

THE VILLANOVANS OF ETRURIA

THE discovery and definition of the Villanovan civilization between the Apennines and the Po was followed in the next fifty years by rapidly succeeding reports of numerous similar sites in Tuscany and the modern province of Rome. At Volterra, Firenze, and Chiusi in northern Etruria, at Vetulonia and Corneto on the coast, in the mountains of Tolfa and at the inland stations of Falerii, Bisenzio, and Veii, discoveries were made of cremation cemeteries analogous to those of the Bolognese. Finally, Villanovan graves were detected not only in the Alban hills but in the very heart of Rome itself, in the ancient burying ground of the Forum. On the east of the Apennines, however, the Villanovans, as we have already stated, did not pass south of Rimini, for the whole Adriatic coast from that point southward is occupied by one or more civilizations of a wholly different type, the principal of which is the Picene. It is to the Picenes that we must attribute a certain number of inhumation cemeteries of non-Etruscan character which encroach upon the Villanovan territory in Etruria and the neighbourhood of Rome.¹ In them we may recognize the representatives of the old inhuming neolithic stock which preceded the Villanovans in the occupation of a great part of Central Italy before these new-comers of the Bronze Age dispossessed them and drove them towards the mountains. South of the Alban hills there is no evidence of Villanovan settlement, but it would be hazardous to assert that the southern boundary is yet known, and it is for future excavations to enlighten us upon this point. At the line of the Liris and the Sangro, however, the Picenes are so strongly posted in Aufidena that no effective occupation by Villanovans can be expected to extend into Campania.

The most important Villanovan cemeteries in Etruria are situated in places which afterwards became famous as Etruscan cities. This is quite natural and perfectly in accordance with the normal rule of history all over the world. Early man does not make his settlements haphazard, but chooses his sites with most careful attention to their natural advantages. Norman succeeds Saxon, or Roman succeeds Etruscan, but the new city generally rises very near the old, or even on the foundations of its ruins. But to the

¹ e. g. Terni, Caracupa, Ardea, sites which will be described in a companion volume entitled *Studies of the Iron Age in Italy*.

writers of the last generation this close proximity of the two civilizations, Villanovan and Etruscan, on the very same sites, was a source of much confusion and perplexity. For during a certain length of time, which we can now see to begin in the middle of the Second Benacci period,¹ Villanovans and Etruscans were contemporary with one another, and there was inevitably a certain reciprocal influence and exchange of products. But behind this there are several centuries represented by the First and about half of the Second Benacci period, during which the Villanovans were wholly distinct and independent. The earliest Etruscan settlements do not date back to these centuries, and there is no evidence that the Etruscans had even arrived in Italy at that time. If, therefore, the First and Second Benacci periods, which we shall presently see to be represented in Etruria no less than in the Bolognese, are compared with due care, they will furnish the clue in most cases for the disentangling of that more intricate stage when the two peoples were living side by side. It is not necessary to resort to the desperate expedient of maintaining with Helbig and his followers that an Etruscan is little more than a reformed or transformed Villanovan. At Corneto and Vetulonia the whole gamut of Villanovan development can be traced from its earliest stages, and the Etruscan can be detected at the very moment of his first appearance. On these sites the Etruscan cemeteries are topographically distinct from those of the earlier Villanovans, and are markedly different from them in every essential feature.

The Four Cemeteries of Corneto

The first discovery of Villanovan tombs at Corneto, known to students of ancient history as Tarquinii, was made by Ghirardini in 1881. It was on a part of the *Monterozzi* estate, close to several places where Etruscan tombs had been found in previous years, the exact point being defined as Le Morre, about 150 metres from Le Arcatelle. Ghirardini's excavations were continued at intervals during the next three years, and the accounts of them by Pasqui and himself were published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1881, 1882, and 1885.² There were two types of tombs, the one being a simple pozzetto covered with a flat slab like the pozzetti in the Bolognese (Fig. 7); the other, a more or less cylindrical receptacle carved out of stone, with a stone top of rounded contour (see Fig. 6). Pozzetti in Corneto are made as follows. A circular pit is cut

¹ Our reasoning is that Etruscan Vetulonia dates from 700 to a little before 800 B.C., and the Second Benacci period from about 750 to 950 B.C. About 850 B. C. would be the date that we assign

to the 'Tomb of the Foreign Woman' at Vetulonia (cf., p. 157).

² 1881 fascicolo Dicembre, 1882 fascicolo Aprile, 1885 fascicolo Novembre, Dicembre.

in the rock with a diameter of about a metre and a half, and sunk with vertical sides to a depth varying from a metre and a quarter to two metres and a half. Below this the pit or pozzo contracts into the *pozzetto*, which is only from 30 to 80 centimetres in diameter, and constitutes the tomb proper. The *pozzetto* is roofed with a flat stone slab, and contains a pottery ossuary of the standard Villanovan form covered with a reversed bowl, or sometimes covered with a helmet made either of bronze or of pottery. When the second type of tomb is used the *pozzetto* is constructed in the same way, but is made of slightly larger diameter in order to receive the stone cylinder which encloses the ossuary and the objects placed with it. Occasionally, instead of a cylinder a quadrangular stone cist is used. It is a peculiarity of the Monterozzi cemetery, not observed in any other, that most of the *pozzetti* communicated



FIGS. 6a, 6b. Stone receptacles for Villanovan ossuaries. After *Not. Scavi*, 1881, tav. v. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$.

with each other by underground openings, which proves that a good many of them are practically contemporary and not successive. Simple *pozzetti* are intermingled with those lined with stone cylinders and occur at exactly the same depth, so that the difference is simply one of wealth and not of chronology. The ossuaries are of the same smoke-blackened Mediterranean ware that was found north-east of the Apennines, furnished with a single handle and nearly always decorated with incised geometrical patterns. They contain little except the human ashes, most of the objects being placed among the sweepings of the pyre in which the urn itself is imbedded.

When Ghirardini discovered the Monterozzi cemetery, he at once recognized its general affinities, and rightly ascribed it to the same people whom Gozzadini had found near Bologna and others had recently detected in different parts of Etruria. He stated also that Monterozzi afforded the clearest parallels to the very oldest groups of the Benacci and De Luca cemeteries described in the last chapter. But in this he was mistaken. A close analysis of the

results obtained in the three years' digging at Monterozzi¹ will show that the tombs belong not to the First but to the Second Benacci period. Eventually, when cemeteries of the First Benacci period were found at Corneto they proved to lie farther north, in an area at some distance from the Etruscan burials. A sketch-map of the district will make this clear, and will further show that, just as we saw at Bologna and shall see presently at Vetulonia, the chronological sequence of the cemeteries follows a perfectly definite topographical alignment. The most archaic is that of *Selciatello* farthest to the north, the next in point of date are *Poggio dell' Impiccato* and *Sopra-Selciatello*, while the

latest of the whole series is the cemetery which has just been mentioned at *Monterozzi*.² In all four the same types of tomb construction occur, but the character of the tomb-furniture varies greatly according to the period.

The cemetery of *Selciatello*³ contained seventy-eight cremation tombs, of which fifty-two were plain *pozzetti*, and were lined with cylindrical stone receptacles; while one (tomb 43) had a rectangular stone cist, and one (tomb 45) was a quadrangular trench lined with slabs of stone. In one of the *pozzetti* (tomb 33) the covering slab was fashioned into the rough likeness of a shield. All the ossuaries except two were of the standard Villanovan type, the exceptions being the jar shown in Plate II, no. 2, and the remarkable hut-urn illustrated below in Fig. 9, which occurred in the unusual tomb 45.

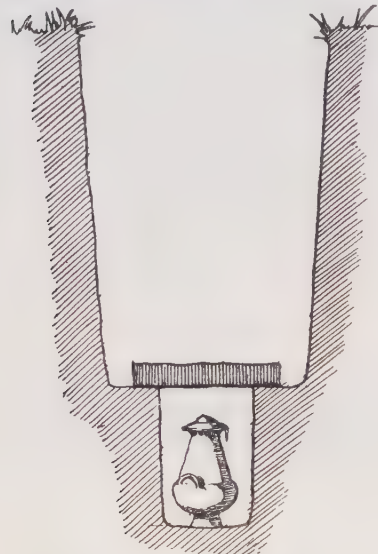


FIG. 7. A typical *pozzetto* at Corneto. After *Not. Scavi*, 1881, tav. v. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

This is the first local peculiarity to be observed among the Southern Villanovans. No models of dwelling-houses have ever been found on the east of the Apennines, but they are not uncommon in Etruria, and have been found in the Alban hills as well as in one of the graves in the Forum at Rome. Another example occurs in the cemetery of *Poggio dell' Impiccato*, and no less than five in that of *Monterozzi*. This is important as showing that they are not confined to the earliest period. Similarly at *Vetulonia*, where eleven hut-urns were found in the cemetery of *Poggio alla Guardia*, an entire group

¹ It is necessary to read the three years together as a single account, for the results obtained in the second and third years considerably modify conclusions that might be drawn from the first alone.

² It must be understood that the present author is solely responsible for these views as to the relative antiquity of the sites at Corneto. Hitherto

no writer seems to have been willing to undertake the systematic grading of the Villanovan cemeteries of Etruria.

³ Described by Pernier in *Not. Sc.* 1907, pp. 321-35. The results of the excavations are exhibited in the Etruscan Museum at Florence; they are too recent to be illustrated by Montelius.

of nine occurred in graves which undoubtedly belong to a late stage of the Second Benacci (cf. below, p. 57). Hut-urns are generally of circular or elliptical form, but occasionally quadrangular, and show the door, the windows, and the construction of the roof with its ornamented beams. It is interesting to observe that the Selciatello hut, though it is the earliest dated example, is of the less common quadrangular form, and quite elaborately decorated with incised geometrical patterns on the roof and walls. Hut-urns from other sites are shown later in Plates 15, 16, and will be the subject of further remarks in later pages.

The second point in which Selciatello differs from the Bolognese cemeteries is the occasional use of a helmet instead of a bowl to cover the ossuary. This

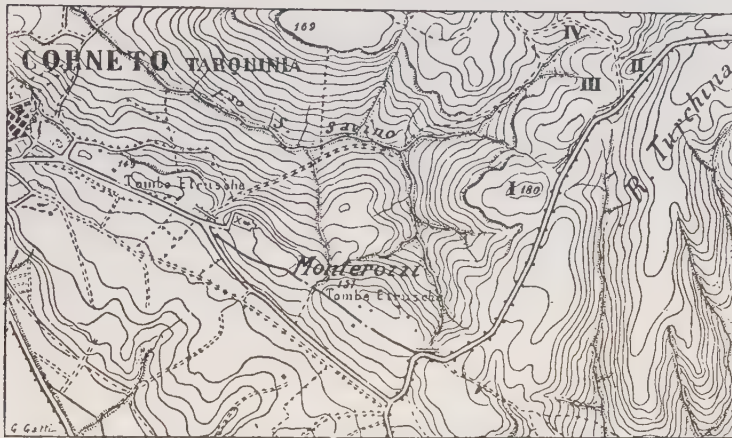


FIG. 8. Sketch-map of the sites at Corneto. From *Not. Scavi*, 1907, p. 44.
II is the site of P. dell' Impiccato, III of Sopra-Selciatello, IV of Selciatello

is a custom common to all the Villanovans of Etruria proper, but not yet observed in the few tombs known from the neighbourhood of Rome. At Selciatello the helmet, of which five examples were found, is only a pottery model; but at Poggio dell' Impiccato and Monterozzi it is sometimes a superb piece of bronze work (see Plates 12 and 13). But as the very existence of pottery models naturally pre-supposes bronze originals, we may safely consider the making of fine helmets in bronze to be one of the accomplishments of the First Benacci period. For it is to this period that Selciatello must be dated, as will now be shown from an analysis of its character and contents.

The summary and inventory of the Selciatello tombs as given by Pernier present a picture which strongly recalls the description given in our last chapter of the First Benacci period at Bologna. Iron occurs, but is uncommon; amber and glass appear, but only sparsely and in small pieces; gold is known, but only in the form of small pieces of plain sheet and wire; fibulae are of

the most archaic forms; the quadrangular razor is half as frequent as the semi-lunar razor; pottery is of the simplest black Mediterranean ware. All this is in striking contrast to the Monterozzi cemetery, in which there are large vessels and tables of hammered sheet bronze, a fair number of iron weapons and implements, advanced forms of fibulae, silver and gold filigree-work, and a considerable variety of pottery.

The graves at Selciatello are undoubtedly poor, but our reasoning does not depend mainly on the negative evidence of the absence of fine products; it is the positively archaic character of the types which actually occur that is so convincing. In no less than five graves (35, 56, 67, 73, and 75), for instance, there were quadrangular razors of the old Bronze Age form found at Savena, and in no less than twenty-four there were various kinds of disc-fibulae.¹ It

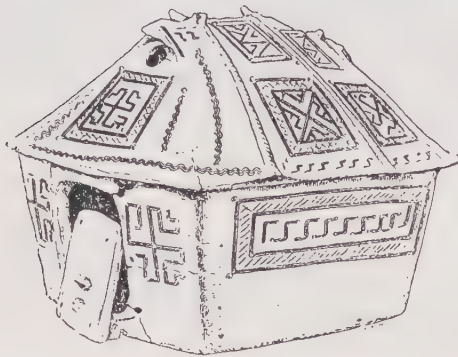


FIG. 9. Hut-urn found at Selciatello. From *Not. Scavi*, 1907, p. 322. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

might have been unsafe to found an argument on the mere presence of these disc-fibulae, for the form was very popular in Etruria, and survived, as will be seen, to a much later date, but the evidence of the other types amply corroborates it. Thus there are simple bow-fibulae with short curled catch-plate in twenty-three tombs, and serpentine fibulae with curled catch-plate in two. As against these the enlarged bow with short catch-plate occurs only once, while the bronze sanguisuga and navicella never occur at all.

That is to say not only are the most usual forms of the Second Benacci wholly absent, but several archaic types all known to be characteristic of the First Benacci all occur simultaneously. The evidence as to period therefore seems irresistible, and we do not hesitate to assign the Selciatello cemetery to the same early stage of the First Benacci that is represented at Bologna by the San Vitale and Savena cemeteries.

The weapons, implements, and ornaments are few. Of bronze beside the razors and fibulae there were a fine sword (of type Plate 13, no. 5) and a spear in tomb 75, and a wavy-bladed knife in tomb 39; while in other tombs there were a few bracelets, finger-rings, hair-spirals, and the wheel tops of head-pins. Of iron there was a complete fibula 'a drago' in tomb 26, the disc of another perished fibula in tomb 29, and fragments of a knife in tomb 64. Discs of gold leaf for covering bronze bullae occurred in tombs 43 and 65; and in

¹ With bodies of different shapes viz. serpentine, 1907, p. 324, has to be supplemented by the tombs enlarged bow, and elastic bow. The list in *Not. Sc.* on p. 335 to obtain the totals.

tomb 76 was the pin of a fibula wrapped with gold wire. Glass beads, discs of bone and slices of amber, threaded on fibulae, were found in several tombs, and in one (tomb 61) there was a small almond-shaped lead pendant.

Of the pottery the most important point to be remarked is that in contrast to the sites of Sopra-Selciatello and Poggio dell' Impiccato there is not a single instance of anything except the plain black Mediterranean ware.¹ Forms are few ; consisting only of two or three little cups and bowls, but it may be observed that the Southern Villanovans evince a peculiar fondness for ornamenting their smaller vessels with clay bosses and fitting them with a high perforated handle.² The only incised decorations are of the simplest geometrical kind.

Poggio dell' Impiccato and Sopra-Selciatello,³ which lie just south and south-east of Selciatello, mark a later stage than Selciatello, but are decidedly earlier than Monterozzi. If the evidence of the fibulae can be trusted, Poggio dell' Impiccato is the earlier of the two, and only a little subsequent to Selciatello, though it shows a very much richer and more varied class of material. Sopra-Selciatello, however, must certainly be classed as Second Benacci, in spite of the survival of a few early forms.

An analysis of the inventories discloses that various kinds of disc-fibulae are found at Poggio dell' Impiccato in eighteen out of a total of eighty-six tombs, and simple bows, often twisted into ridges, as at Bologna, in sixteen. Enlarged bows are rare, occurring only two or three times, the leech-fibula with curved catch is rare ; and all forms approximating to the navicella are equally rare, occurring in only two or three tombs. There are only nine razors, all of which are semi-lunar.

At Sopra-Selciatello there are simple bows in sixty tombs out of 200 ; but the relative frequency of the disc-fibulae has decreased, for it only occurs in twenty-one tombs though the cemetery is more than twice the size of the others. On the other hand the less archaic forms have notably increased, for there are enlarged bows with short catch-plate in forty tombs, leech-fibulae with short catch-plate in thirteen, and serpentine with fairly long catch-plate in fifteen. This is a very noticeable and significant change. It is just possible, however, that it may not be entirely due to chronological difference, for there would seem to be a much greater preponderance of men in this cemetery, to judge from the fact that there are fifty-four razors, of which fifty-one were semi-lunar, while three were rather ornate and elaborate examples of the quadrangular type. Perhaps some shapes of fibulae may have been better adapted than others for men's dress. Four very fine specimens of fibulae from

¹ Varied in one small piece to red by an accident of burning.

³ Described in *Not. Sc.* 1907, pp. 45-82 and 227-261.

² See illustrations in *Not. Sc.* 1907, p. 332.

Poggio dell' Impiccato are illustrated in Plate 13, nos. 1-4. The first is a characteristic example of the 'elastic bow', a type which will be observed again at Vetulonia (cf. below, p. 103, and Fig. 21), with a finely engraved disc, of which the detail is not shown here. No. 2 in Plate 13 is typologically interesting for its unusual four-coiled spring, and is also delicately engraved. No. 3 is a rare form, which occurs again at Sopra-Selciatello in iron. These three are all bronze, but No. 4 in Plate 13 is of iron, almost the only example of an iron fibula at Poggio dell' Impiccato, though they are common at Sopra-Selciatello, where the fragmentary remains prove that they occurred in at least nine tombs.¹ The free use of iron in both cemeteries is attested by the occurrence of several fine weapons and implements which will be described later. A certain increase of luxury is shown by the more free use of gold, amber, and glass for ornamentation, but it is in the character of their bronze work and still more of their pottery that these two cemeteries differ so remarkably from Selciatello. The pottery shows the influence of new schools unknown to the Northern Villanovans, and raises a very interesting and complex question as to trade intercourse and connexions. We may examine it first as it appears at Poggio dell' Impiccato, which we have seen reason to consider the earlier of the two sites.

The usual ware here, as at Selciatello, is the black Mediterranean, made by hand, of coarse, unpurified clay, and burned in an open fire. This sometimes varies, quite naturally, to red ; and there is nothing strange in that circumstance. But it is very remarkable to find in several tombs vases of reddish or yellow purified clay, which are made on the wheel and burned in a kiln. Such pots, however, occur in tombs 34, 35, 73, 76, and 78. And the interesting thing is that every one of these tombs except the first is an *inhumation*. Of the eighty-six tombs in this cemetery only ten in all were inhumations, viz. Nos. 35, 70, 71, 73*, 75*, 76*, 77*, 78*, 79*, and 84, of which those marked with an asterisk (*) were burials of infants. Apparently they formed a group close together, so that it is quite evident that the new and peculiar pottery was produced by a few individuals who were foreigners in the community and used the burial rites of aliens. At Selciatello, where there was no foreign pottery, there were no inhumations. The specimens may be very briefly summarized as follows. In 34, which though a cremation is peculiar as being not a *pozzetto* but a *ziro* or jar-burial, there were fragments of a wheel-made bowl of yellow clay. In 35, there were fragments of similar ware

¹ The special student will probably wish to examine and analyse all the fibulae of these cemeteries from other points of view. For this purpose Pernier's tomb inventory supplies much information which it is not possible to include here.

decorated with broad and narrow bands in red. Tomb 73 contained a long-necked bottle, 76 a small bowl, and 78 a little vase of which the handle had been broken but mended with bronze wire, all in the same yellow ware.

The same group of tombs produces a fine kind of wheel-made red ware, finely burnished, which occurs in 34, 73, 76, and 77; tomb 72 has a handled bottle like that in 73, made of red ware with geometrical decorations incised in white. The fine red jar from tomb 34 is illustrated in Plate II, no. 9. In the Mediterranean black ware, which is the pottery proper to the cremation tombs, two new forms appear at Poggio dell' Impiccato, viz. the 'crater' with horn-like protuberances on the shoulders shown in Plate II, no. 6, and the two-handled vase illustrated in Plate II, no. 10. The more frequent shapes of other pots and bowls from this cemetery are shown in nos. 3, 4, and 7 of Plate II. Ossuaries are of the usual Villanovan form with geometrical incised ornament. Sometimes they were covered with pottery imitations of helmets instead of with bowls; two types of such helmets are shown in Plate II, nos. 15 and 16. There were five instances of the crested helmet, viz. tombs 37, 39, 58, 65, and 80, and five of the mushroom-topped, viz. tombs 14, 19, 47, 52, and 54. There was also one curious hybrid which can hardly be called a helmet, in which a hollow funnel replaces the mushroom top. One instance of a hut-urn occurred,¹ viz. in tomb 25.

Turning now to the pottery of Sopra-Selciatello we find that the usual ware is the black Mediterranean, and that the same forms predominate as in the two previous cemeteries. The normal ossuary is the more or less standardized Villanovan urn (Plate II, no. 1) covered with a bowl or a pottery helmet, but there is one clear case (Plate II, no. 5) of a large handled jug being used, and several of an olla being substituted (tombs 33, 130, and 183). The new shape shown in Plate II, no. 8, some curious covers to ossuaries which are of a hybrid form between bowl and helmet, and some examples of the typical Volterra vase figured in Plate 15, no. 4, are the only important novelties to remark in this class. It may be noticed, however, that there are several fancy pots representing animals or birds.

Red ware, which had begun to appear at Poggio dell' Impiccato, is found in several tombs and sometimes in new shapes, e. g. Plate II, no. 11. This might be a natural evolution from the black Mediterranean, produced without any foreign inspiration. But a polished red ware with geometrical decoration in white (Plate II, no. 14) is an innovation of some importance and interest.

Much more remarkable than these, however, and evidently imported, or copied from foreign importations, are the hydria and the bowl shown in Plate II,

¹ Illustrated in *Not. Sc.* 1907, p. 56.

nos. 12 and 13. The former of these is 0.43 metre high, made of yellow clay covered with a slight white slip on which the bands and the figures of birds are painted in red. With it was found a small bowl in similar ware, decorated simply with bands. A bronze girdle incised with maeanders and chevrons, three small fusiform tubes of bronze, two simple bow-fibulae, and four of the more advanced 'mignatta' type were found in the same tomb 160, which was one of the usual pozzetti. The bowl in Plate II, no. 13 was found in tomb 174, which is of the unusual *ziro* class, and it is noteworthy that almost the only other *ziro* in the whole cemetery, viz. tomb 93, contained a cup of the same ware and technique. The pozzetto 198 had an askos of the same ware, painted with birds; and the pozzetto 140 had a jug of shape somewhat similar in shape to Plate II, no. 4, painted with bands, triangles, and oblong lattices. There were also in tomb 140 two larger jars, one spherical and the other more resembling the shape of Plate II, no. 11, coated with white slip and ornamented with red bands; these two are less well made and somewhat remind us of the white slip decorated with red which occurs in a few tombs of the Benacci period at Bologna.

This entire little group is of immense interest, and some of the examples suggest connexions of which the Bolognese cemeteries gave no hint. The manufacture cannot be traced to aliens living on the site, for at Sopra-Selciatello there are no inhumations;¹ but we can hardly doubt that it was directly inspired by foreign models. Whence then were the original models derived? It is difficult not to think that they came from some part of Greece, and this is the view which will suggest itself to almost all archaeologists. But the whole subject of 'Italian geometric' ware is exceedingly intricate and dangerous, and it is well to be very cautious in dealing with it. At present geometric pottery cannot be used for dating tombs; on the contrary it must be dated by them. In Chapter VI, pp. 175-177, we deal with pottery of similar style and technique found on various other sites, and show that it occurs during at least three centuries, viz. the ninth, eighth, and seventh. It would be very useful if the remarkable examples from Sopra-Selciatello could be put in their proper chronological position in relation to the rest. They may represent some of the earliest importations if we are correct in assigning this cemetery to the Second Benacci period; and an analysis of the several tombs in which they occur certainly does not show anything inconsistent with this dating.² In that case the hydria and the bowl with their figures of birds may belong either to the ninth or the eighth century. They are to be compared

¹ To be quite precise there is one, an infant, in a total of 204 tombs.

² Tomb 198 actually had a 'palette-razor' in it.

particularly with the pottery of the Warrior's Tomb shown in Plate 30 and with the vases from Vetralla, Vulci, and Veii shown in Plate 33.

The next subject to be considered is the bronze work of these two sites. At Poggio dell' Impiccato the finest specimens come from two unusually rich tombs, to which the numbers I and II are assigned in the official description. No. I was a rectangular stone cist, and II was a rectangular fossa lined with slabs, forms which are not peculiar to this site but occurred also at Selciatello, and were probably adopted merely because the owners were more wealthy than their neighbours. In the centre of the stone cist of no. I lay the pottery ossuary on its side with the superb helmet of hammered bronze which had served to cover it. The ossuary, 0.39 metre high, covered with its helmet, 0.36 metre high, is shown in Plate 12, no. 3, surrounded by the objects which were found with it in the tomb. Inside the ossuary itself were a little half-wheel of bronze and the semi-lunar bronze razor seen on the right of the picture. Outside and around it were the bronze sword in its sheath, the bronze spear with its butt, the bronze cup with high ribbon-handle and the little cylindrical bronze censer with its chain. On the top of the ossuary as it lay were a little bronze chain and pin and five small bronze plaques in the shape of swastikas and maeanders covered with gold-leaf, and towards its base were two bronze rings, a fusiform bronze bead, portions of a bronze leech-fibula, and the pin of another fibula threaded with a gold tube and an amber bead. The pottery consisted of a spherical olla with four bosses on the shoulder, a twin cup of which the two parts were joined by a horn-shaped handle ('ansa cornuta'), and six small cups, all in the usual ware. The helmet (Plate 12, no. 7) is of a type already known from Ghirardini's excavations at Monterozzi, and represented by two examples from that site in the Corneto Museum, one of which is described and illustrated in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1882.¹ It is made of a stout sheet of hammered metal with rows of engraved bosses in repoussé, separated by rows of finely punctuated dots and by engraved circles at the base of the crest. In the centre of each side the rim is perforated with three holes, which probably served for attaching leather cheek-pieces.

With these crested helmets may be compared and contrasted the two cap-shaped examples found in tomb II and illustrated in Plate 13, nos. 15 and 16. In this tomb the pottery ossuary was broken to fragments. It had lain on its side, and was almost enclosed by the two bronze caps. Beside it were two small tazze of black ware, a bronze spear with its bronze butt (Plate 13, no. 8), and some small objects which had originally been contained in the

¹ 1882, vol. x, p. 280, or 162, with tav. 13. See Montelius, Plate 276, fig. 11, for the other example.

ossuary. These were eight small plaques of thin bronze covered, like those in the last tomb, with gold leaf ; rings and small chains ; a semi-lunar razor ; the pins of two perished fibulae ; a large serpentine fibula of iron with a bifid bow like that of Plate 13, no. 3, and fragments of two vessels made of sheet bronze. The cap-helmets resemble one found at Monterozzi (see Plate 13, no. 12), but the example shown in Plate 13, no. 15 is much more elaborately ornamented ;¹ the schematized human face occupying the whole centre of the front is a quite new and very curious motive. The holes on each side of the rim probably served in this case for attaching small chains or pendants ; the other example, no. 16, has no holes.

A third form of helmet was found in bronze at Monterozzi, but is only represented by pottery models at Poggio dell' Impiccato. It is the mushroom-topped cap or 'elmo pileato' shown in Plate 13, no. 14,² which is decorated with rows of bosses in repoussé, supplemented by engraving.

Whether the date of these two graves is First or Second Benacci may not be perfectly certain, but we should be disposed to assign them to the later of the two periods on the evidence of the small ornaments and implements found in them. This would mean that Poggio dell' Impiccato is partly First Benacci and partly Second Benacci, a very probable solution, inasmuch as it seems to stand midway in type between Selciatello and Sopra-Selciatello. But, as was pointed out in a previous page, the making of pottery models presupposes the existence of bronze originals, and therefore, as models of helmets were found at Selciatello, the technique of such bronze work must be dated back to the earliest period of all, viz. the First Benacci.

It may be of some importance to observe in this connexion that vessels of hammered bronze plates, which were entirely absent at Selciatello, seem to occur only three or four times at Poggio dell' Impiccato. In tomb I there was a small cup, and in tomb II some fragments of unrecognizable form. Besides these there was a bronze bowl in tomb 74, and fragments in the two ziro-burials, 34 and 57, which Pernier recognizes as being parts of a bronze ossuary and of discoidal bronze flasks. Entire bronze ossuaries and discoidal flasks occurred at Monterozzi (see Plate 14) in tombs which seem to be of advanced Second Benacci character. The bronze sword or dagger, 0.47 metre long, including hilt and sheath, found in tomb I, belongs to a type which is unknown at Bologna, but particularly characteristic of the Etrurian Villanovans ; the type has been studied by Pernier as it occurred in several instances at Vetulonia.³ In tomb 54 there was another example in which the blade was iron (Plate 13, no. 6) and the sheath of bronze. Two other

¹ For another view of it see *Not. Sc.* 1907, p. 64.

² Pernier in Milani's *Studi e Materiali*, vol. iii,

³ For another example see Mont., Plate 278, no. 2. p. 230.

specimens from Monterozzi, the second of which has also an iron blade, are shown in Plate 13, nos. 5 and 7.

The sheaths of these swords or daggers are sometimes finely engraved with geometrical designs; in the one from tomb 54 the wooden covering of the hilt has survived, but in some other cases the hilt was apparently covered with bone. It will be remembered that a similar bronze sword with its bronze sheath was found in grave 75 at Selciatello, so that the type is long lived. The general rarity of weapons on all these sites is quite remarkable, but we should not fail to observe a long curved iron weapon and an iron spear in tomb 74 at Poggio dell' Impiccato, as well as two iron spears and an iron dagger with triangular blade in graves 156, 174, and 141 at Sopra-Selciatello. Sopra-Selciatello furnished no bronze helmets, but a very fine example of a bronze girdle, from tomb 137, resembling one found at Monterozzi (which may be seen in Plate 14, no. 18). In the same tomb were a bronze cup with ribbon-handle and a bronze paalstab. The strip of bronze decorated with incised patterns, found with the painted hydria in tomb 160, was also probably a girdle. Small bronze cups with ribbon-handles were found in eight tombs, but there were no large vessels. This is in marked contrast to the site of Monterozzi, where there were superb bronze vessels, such as those shown in Plate 14, but something must be allowed for the accidents of survival. So far, however, the examination of these Corneto sites has not shown any vessels of hammered bronze as ancient as those of San Vitale (cf. the argument on p. 26).

In regard to small objects and ornaments, these three cemeteries at Corneto show very much the same general run of types as the Benacci cemeteries at Bologna, though the frequency of their occurrence is rather different. Bracelets, rings, glass beads, ivory, and amber are used in similar ways and with similar forms. The one great innovation is the appearance of gold, which was wholly unknown in this period among the Northern Villanovans. It cannot be said either that there is any appreciable difference in the frequency of iron, though at Corneto it is somewhat differently employed, as it was seldom used in the north for the manufacture of fibulae. On the other hand, one or two implements found at Bologna scarcely appear at Corneto; the rareness of the wavy-bladed knife may be accidental, but the total absence of horse-bits and of the palette-knife (the type of Plate 5, no. 4) is certainly peculiar.

Special features of the Monterozzi Cemetery

The site of Monterozzi lies some distance to the south of Sopra-Selciatello (see sketch-map, Fig. 7, p. 43). And as it is the last in the topographical chain of the Villanovan cemeteries, so it is also the latest in date. Reading

together the accounts of the three years' digging at Monterozzi, published by Ghirardini and Pasqui,¹ it is not difficult to obtain a clear idea of the period and character of the cemetery. With a few early types of disc-fibulae, which might easily be explained as survivals, it has also some much more advanced types; its hut-urns may quite as well belong to the full Second Benacci as to any earlier period, and there are no marked traits of archaism in any one of the graves. On the other hand there is a very marked character of lateness in several, especially in the group of *ziro* burials found in 1883 and recorded in 1885.² Allowing for a certain number which were too much ruined to be recorded, Ghirardini estimates that about three hundred graves were excavated in 1881 and 1882, of which all, except nine, were cremations.

Among the objects discovered there are a good many which have their counterparts at Poggio dell' Impiccato or Sopra-Selciatello, and there can be no doubt that the cemetery, as a whole, may be assigned to the Second Benacci period. But a few graves may come down almost to the Arnoaldi, and it is no argument against this to say that the stamped ware of the third Bolognese period is absent. The characteristic pottery of the Arnoaldi sites at Bologna never appears west of the Apennines at all, and is therefore never found on any Southern Villanovan site, even though the site may be obviously contemporary.

In Plate 14 are seen three tomb-groups from Monterozzi, which are typical of the Second Benacci, and add a good deal of detail to our knowledge of that period at Corneto. The tomb excavated on 24 February 1882, illustrated by nos. 7-11,³ contains a bronze helmet similar to the helmet of Poggio dell' Impiccato, described on p. 49, a bronze cup with ribbon-handle like several from Sopra-Selciatello, a bronze disc-fibula with elastic bow, peculiar in having a bifid body, of which each half is whipped with gold wire, and a bronze spear. Also it contains a bronze table, which is the largest and most elaborate piece of metal work yet recorded, though of quite simple technique, and an antennae-sword, which is a very rare and important discovery. We have seen on a previous page (p. 15) that antennae-swords, which occur as early as San Vitale at Bologna, are a type peculiar to the north, and scarcely ever found in Etrurian cemeteries, though there is one case in a definitely Etruscan grave at Vetulonia (p. 139, and Plate 25). This, therefore, may be regarded as positive proof of trade and intercourse with the Northern Villanovans, and it shows again that Etruria had no monopoly of bronze-working, and perhaps no special pre-eminence in it before the arrival of the Etruscans. We have already seen that the situlae of San Vitale antedate any examples of hammered plate-work

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1881, 1882, 1885. The objects are in the Corneto museum.

² Montelius in his Plates 276-83 has fully

illustrated the Monterozzi material. The contents of the *ziro* graves are on Plates 282 and 283.

³ *Not. Sc.* 1882, pp. 162-70 (or in other copies, pp. 280-8).

yet found west of the Apennines, and the repoussé girdles of the First Benacci at Bologna are probably earlier than any similar work at Corneto. Future discoveries may of course reverse this sequence, but at present the evidence goes to show that the Northern Villanovans were not indebted to their southern kinsmen for the art of fine bronze-working, but developed it either independently or under Central European inspiration in their own homes.¹ This argument is important in connexion with the fine bronze ossuaries, the girdle, and the discoidal bronze flask shown in Plate 14, nos. 1, 2, 12, and 18. The entire group of objects in Plate 14, nos. 1-6, comes from a tomb discovered on 23 January 1884,² and the entire group, nos. 12-18, from a tomb of 22 February 1882. The discoidal flask is a type unknown at this period in Bologna, but very popular in Etruria, and found in various Etruscan graves at Vetulonia. It looks much like a derivation from the Egyptian pilgrim-bottle which was made of faience and passed by trade to various parts of the Aegean.³ Actual faience specimens are often found in Etruscan graves a couple of centuries later than this, but no examples occur on Italian soil before the last years of the seventh century.⁴ Fragments of bronze discoidal flasks were found at Poggio dell' Impiccato (p. 50), which confirms the date of their earliest appearance as Second Benacci, though they last on well into the Palaeo-Etruscan time (cf. pp. 130, 160).

The tomb of 23 January 1884, with its well-formed semi-lunar razor and paalstab, may be regarded as typical Second Benacci, in spite of a hint of advanced date in the bronze fibula (Plate 14, no. 3). To the same stage may be attributed the very important tomb of 22 February 1882. This has a bronze ossuary, no. 12 in Plate 14, of more elaborate workmanship than no. 1, and less like the Bolognese examples (in Plate 7). It has also a very fine bronze girdle like one from Sopra-Selciatello (cf. p. 51). More significant than these, however, and very valuable for purposes of dating and connexion are the small ornaments. Of these, no. 17 is a bronze navicella fibula finely engraved with a chevron pattern, and no. 15 a bronze bow-fibula threaded in the usual style with discs of bone and amber. But no. 13 is a little bronze plaque with repoussé work covered with gold leaf; no. 16 is a hair-spiral of gold wire; and no. 14—the most important of all—is a gold fibula. This is of a new pattern and design. It is ornamented with a simple pattern of rows of dots in granulated work with two volutes in filigree of gold wire. The workmanship is primitive and archaic, and should be contrasted rather

¹ For examples of hammered bronze vessels at Hallstatt see Von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Plates 22-4, and for a sword, Plate 5.

² Mont., Plate 281.

³ Trade, direct or indirect with Egypt is proved

by the occurrence of a genuinely Egyptian scarab in a pozzetto tomb at Monterozzi. *Not. Sc.* 1882, p. 183 (or p. 301).

⁴ There is a specimen in the Polledrara tomb from Vulci dated to the time of Psammetichus I.

than compared with the delicate *pulviscolo* granulation of the Vetulonian jewellery (see Fig. 40 and Plate 27). Nevertheless, it is the earliest example of the fine gold work which soon afterwards becomes such a notable art amongst the Etruscans, and may perhaps be regarded as the first proof of their influence.

This brings us to consider three graves from Monterozzi which are described by Pasqui in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1885,¹ and illustrated by Montelius² in his Plates 282 and 283. It was on the evidence of this little group and one or two other graves of the same late Villanovan period found at Corneto that Helbig principally relied when forming his singularly perverse theory as to the origin of the Etruscans and their relation to the Villanovans.³

Observing, what is undoubtedly true, that there is a great deal of resemblance between the contents of several Etruscan inhumation-graves at Monterozzi and those of the contemporary Villanovans, Helbig draws the extraordinary conclusion that the two people must have lived a long time in contact with one another before they immigrated into Italy, even if they were not actually related. Later he and some of his followers go even farther and write of the Etruscans as if they were racially identical with the Villanovans or little more than a slight variation of species. By the same process it would be easy to demonstrate that an Englishman living in China who had collected some of the contemporary ornaments and objects of art about him was a Chinaman, or was at least descended from a long line of anglicized Chinese. It is to be hoped that any one who has had the patience to read our first two chapters will have convinced himself that the Villanovans were settled both in the Bolognese and Etruria for several centuries before there is the slightest appearance of any Etruscan immigration or even of any Etruscan influence. With our present knowledge of the sequence of cemeteries it is impossible not to see the conspicuous differences between the culture of the *earliest* Villanovans and that of the earliest Etruscans.

The three graves in question form a group apparently separated by some little distance from the others already described at Monterozzi. They are not pozzetti but 'ziro', or, as they are sometimes called, 'dolio' graves, that is to say, the ossuary and its tomb furniture were enclosed in an enormous jar. This is a type of burial which occurred occasionally in the Villanovan graves of the Bolognese, and is found also at places like Chiusi, where it is for some time the most characteristic form of Etruscan grave.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1885, pp. 617-27 or 443-53.

² After the original drawings in *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, vol. xi, Plates 59, 60.

³ Helbig, *La provenienza degli Etruschi*, in *Ann. Inst.* 1884, pp. 108-80. Undset's treatment

of the same subject in *Ann. Inst.* 1885, *L'antichissima necropoli tarquiniese*, is much better reasoned, and his general review of the cemetery is still of considerable value.

The 'dolio' found on 8 March 1883 contained a fine bronze vase decorated with bosses in repoussé and engraved birds, bronze tazza with ribbon-handle, a bronze discoidal flask, bronze girdle, bronze ossuary, iron knife, bronze axe, bronze fibulae, blue glass beads, and two jars of olla shape painted with geometrical patterns¹ in red on white (Mont., Plate 282). With these were objects of greater significance for dating, viz. small discs of bronze ornamented with circles and schematized birds in repoussé and covered with gold leaf like the pendants in the Bisenzio trench graves (cf. Plate 32), together with a silver fibula of mignatta type.

The tomb of 10th March contained a pottery ossuary of unusual form with a very much elongated foot. With it were a bronze dagger, a bronze spindle, two bronze axes, bronze fibulae of the same type as in the last tomb, and a bracelet of silver wire as well as a leech-fibula of silver.

The tomb² of 12 March contained a pottery ossuary covered with a bronze bowl, a bronze 'secchiello' of the type shown in our Plate 34, no. 1, two bronze tazze with ribbon-handles, two bronze axes. And with these were bronze fibulae, a gold sanguisuga fibula and two bracelets of *silver filigree*. These filigree bracelets are absolutely diagnostic of date. They are of the same style and workmanship as those found in the Circle of Bes and the Circle of the Bracelets at Vetulonia (see pp. 106, 110, and Fig. 29). We therefore obtain an exact synchronism between the latest Villanovan at Monterozzi and the earliest Etruscan at Vetulonia. This is corroborated by the occurrence at Monterozzi of nine inhumation graves containing objects very similar in character to those of the latest Villanovan burials on the same site. The inhumation graves were interspersed with the pozzetti, and occurred at practically the same depth. It is obvious from the burial rite that they belong to a new and alien people, and when it is seen that they contain Egyptianizing scarabs as well as gold and silver, there need be no hesitation in identifying this new people with the Etruscans. Here then at Corneto we can detect the precise moment which is represented at Vetulonia by the tomb of the Foreign Woman, when the newly arrived Etruscans are beginning to implant themselves among the native Villanovans. These graves may be dated, therefore, to the middle or end of the ninth century. They are described in Chapter VI (p. 161) in connexion with the famous Warrior's Grave of Corneto, which is clearly contemporary with them.³

¹ Cf. *Mon. Inst.*, vol. xi, Plate 59.

² Mont., Plate 283, cf. *Mon. Inst.*, vol. xi, Plate 60.

³ In addition to the cremation graves detailed

in our list the tomb of 23 March 1883 (cf. Mont., Plate 278, nos. 4-11) and that of April 8th may be studied in this connexion. See *Not. Sc.* 1885, pp. 628-30, and see also pp. 636-41.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 11, 12, 13, 14

PLATE 11. CORNETO. *Pottery from Sopra-Selciatello and Poggio dell' Impiccato.*

Nos. 1, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 are from Sopra-Selciatello.

Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16 from Poggio dell' Impiccato.

No. 2 from Selciatello.

Nos. 8-12 are from original sketches made in the museum at Florence ; the remainder are taken from the illustrations to the articles in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, pp. 43-82, 227-61, 321-35.

Scale of nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, 16 is $\frac{1}{8}$; of 4 and 7 is $\frac{2}{5}$; of 10, 11, 12, 14 is $\frac{1}{11}$; of 13 is $\frac{2}{11}$.

PLATE 12. CORNETO. *Tomb I at Poggio dell' Impiccato.*

No. 1, bronze spear-head, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 2, bronze cup, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 3, pottery ossuary of the standard Villanovan form, surmounted by a crested bronze helmet, ornamented with lines of bosses in repoussé, scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 4, small bronze censer with chain attached, scale $\frac{1}{7}$. No. 5, bronze semi-lunar razor, scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 6, bronze sword in engraved bronze sheath, scale $\frac{1}{7}$. Nos. 7 a, 7 b, front and side-views of the bronze helmet on a larger scale, viz. $\frac{1}{4}$.

The pottery ossuary is from an original sketch made in the museum ; the helmet and other objects are from the photograph and drawings in *Not. Scavi*, 1907, pp. 53, 61, 62.

PLATE 13. CORNETO. *Objects from Poggio dell' Impiccato and Monterozzi.*

Nos. 1-4, 6, 8, 15, 16 from P. dell' Impiccato after the illustrations in *Not. Scavi*, 1907, pp. 45-80.

Nos. 5, 7, 9, 12 from Monterozzi, after Montelius, *Civ. prim.*, Plates 276, 278.

Nos. 10, 11, 13, 14 from *Not. Scavi*, 1881, tav. 5, and 1882, tav. 13, 14.

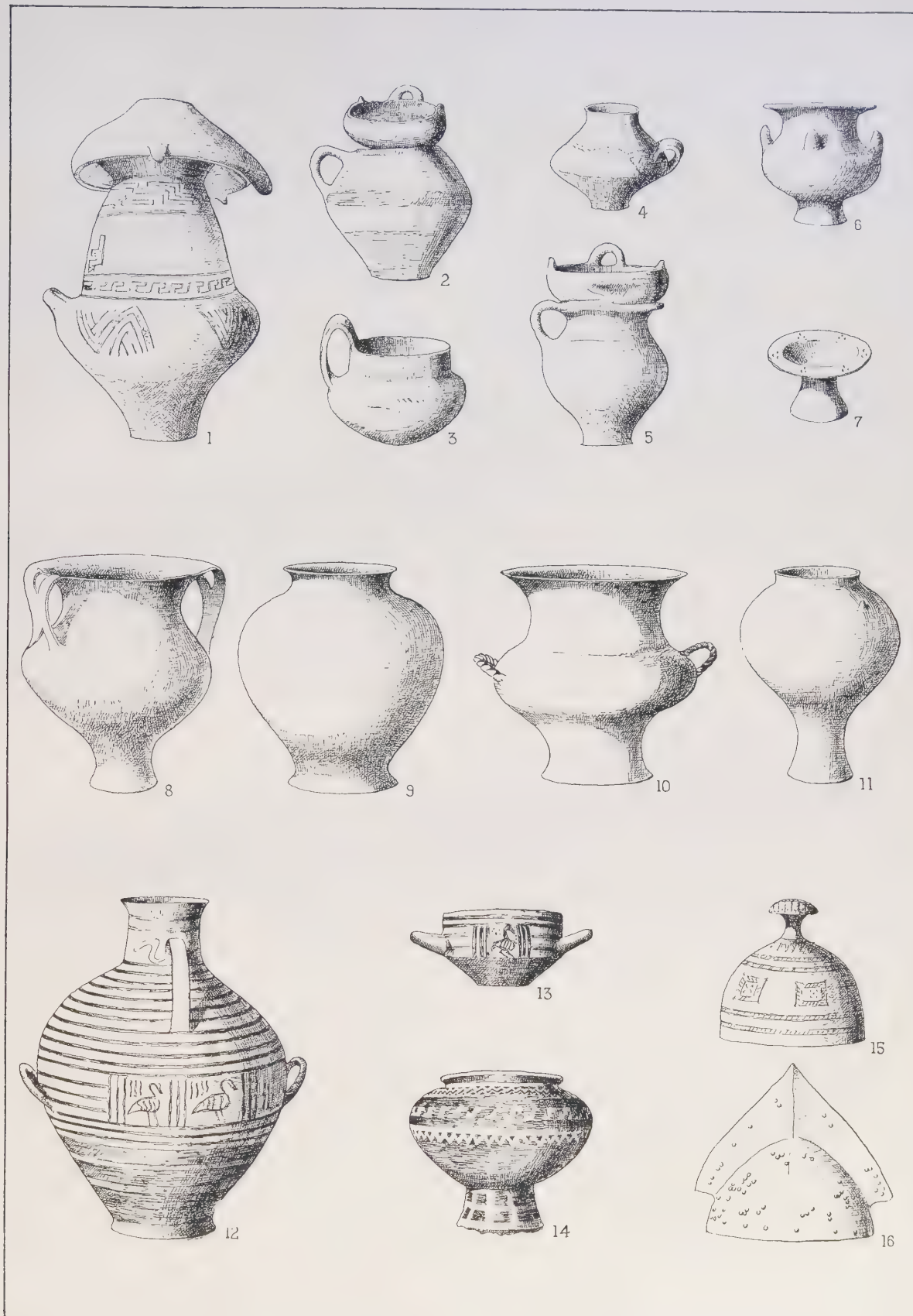
No. 1 is of bronze, scale $\frac{1}{4}$; nos. 2 and 3 are bronze, scale $\frac{1}{3}$; no. 4 is iron, scale $\frac{1}{3}$; no. 5 is bronze, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 6 is iron, scale about $\frac{1}{4}$; no. 7 is iron with a bronze sheath, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 8, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{8}$; no. 9, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{5}$; no. 10, gold, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 11, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{2}$; no. 12, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{5}$; no. 13, pottery candelabrum, scale $\frac{1}{5}$; no. 14, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{5}$; nos. 15, 16, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

PLATE 14. CORNETO. *Three tomb-groups from Monterozzi.*

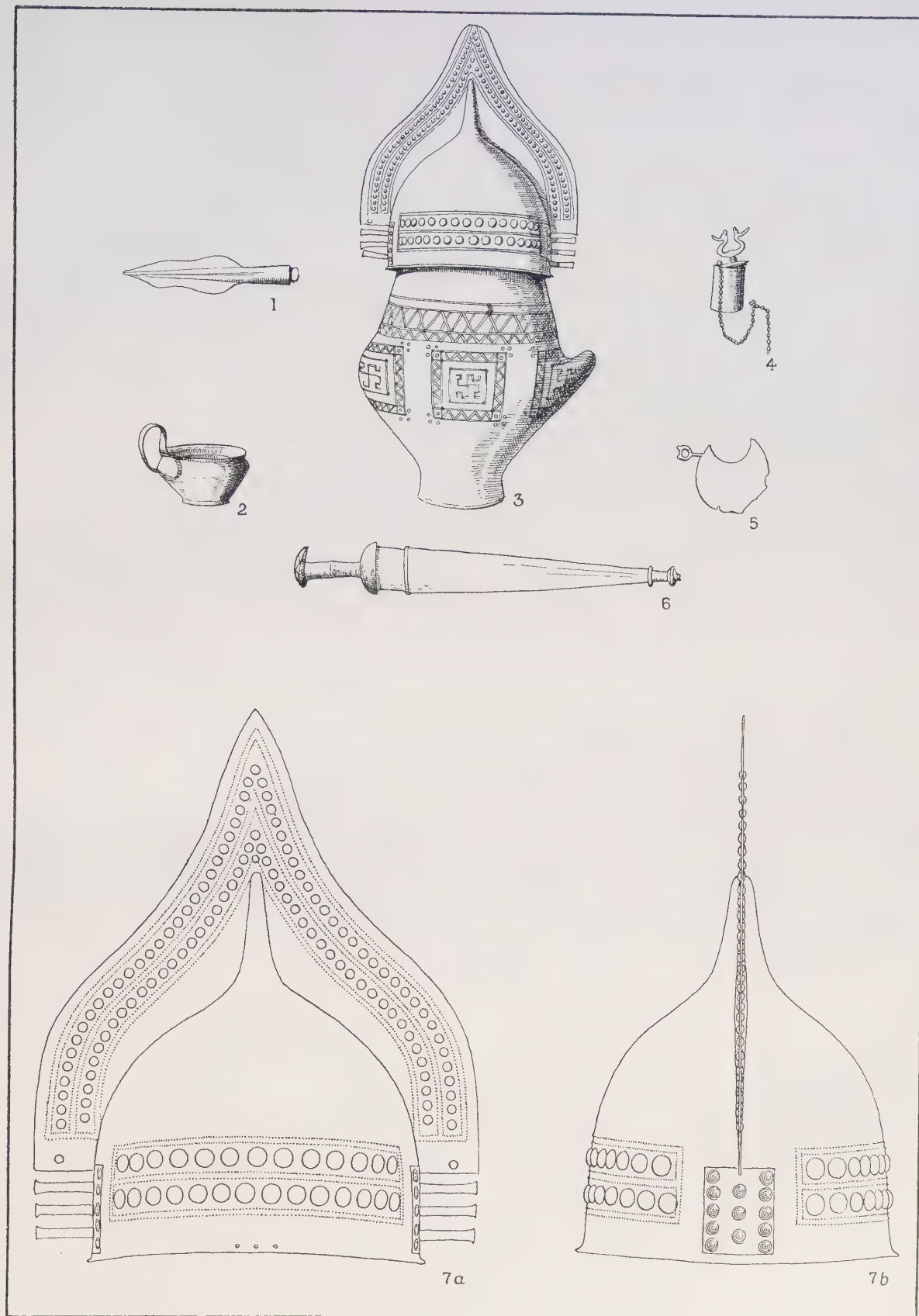
Nos. 1-6, the tomb of 23 January 1884, from Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive*, Plate 281. Objects all bronze ; scale of no. 1 is $\frac{1}{5}$, of no. 2 is not quite $\frac{1}{6}$, of no. 3 not quite $\frac{1}{3}$, of no. 4 not quite $\frac{1}{4}$, of no. 5 not quite $\frac{1}{3}$, of no. 6 it is $\frac{5}{11}$.

Nos. 7-11, the tomb of 24 February 1882, from Montelius, op. cit., Plate 277, after *Not. Scavi*, 1882. Objects all bronze, but the fibula is wrapped with gold wire. Scale of no. 7 is $\frac{2}{11}$, of no. 8 is $\frac{1}{7}$, of no. 9 is a little over $\frac{1}{6}$, of nos. 10 and 11 not quite $\frac{1}{3}$.

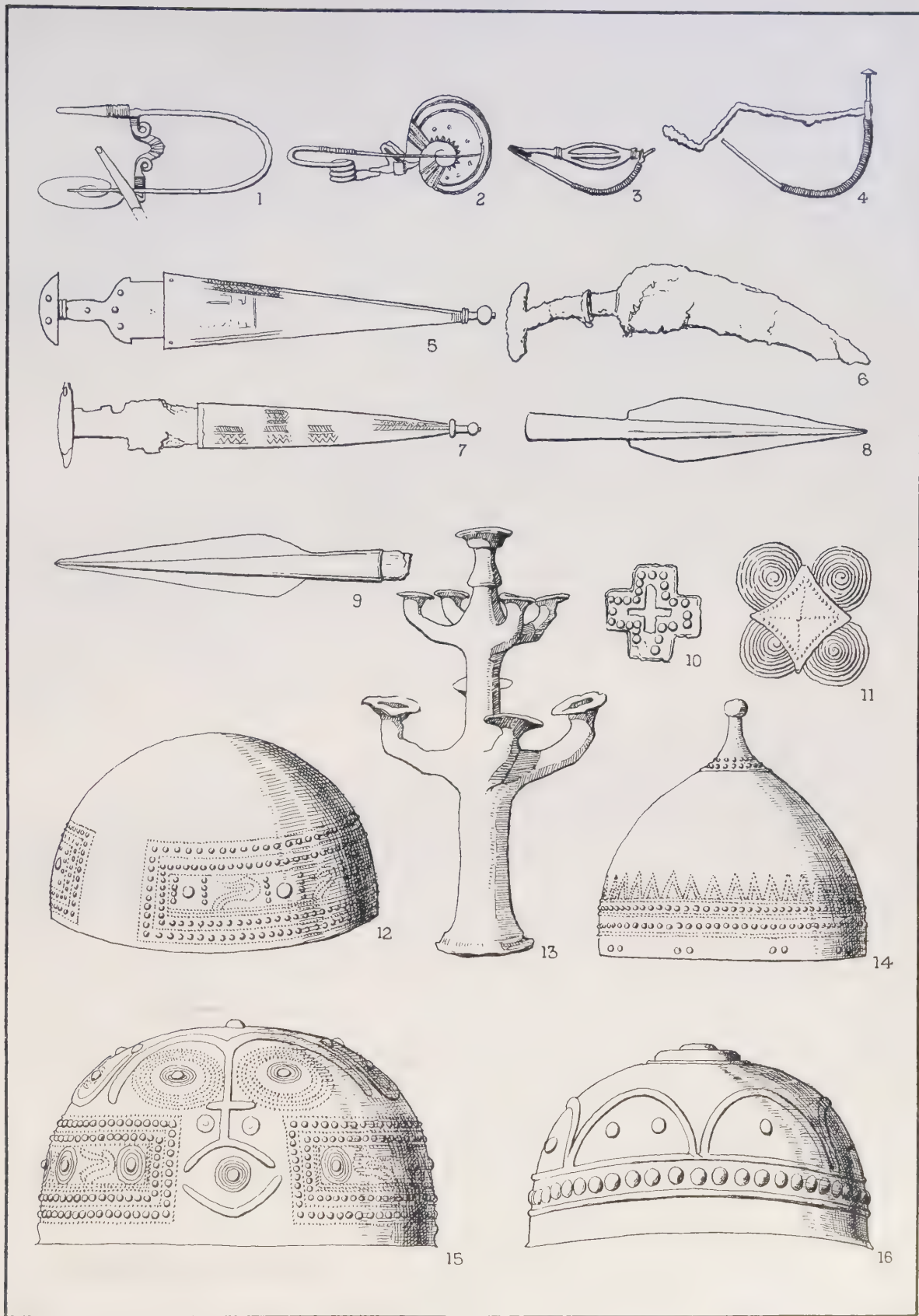
Nos. 12-18, the tomb of 22 February 1882, from Montelius, op. cit., Plate 281, after *Not. Scavi*, 1882. No. 12 is bronze, scale a little over $\frac{1}{6}$; no. 13, bronze covered with gold, not quite full size ; no. 14, gold, not quite full size ; no. 15, bronze, threaded with bone and amber, scale not quite $\frac{2}{3}$; no. 16, gold, scale not quite $\frac{2}{3}$; no. 17, bronze, scale not quite $\frac{2}{3}$; no. 18, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{7}$.



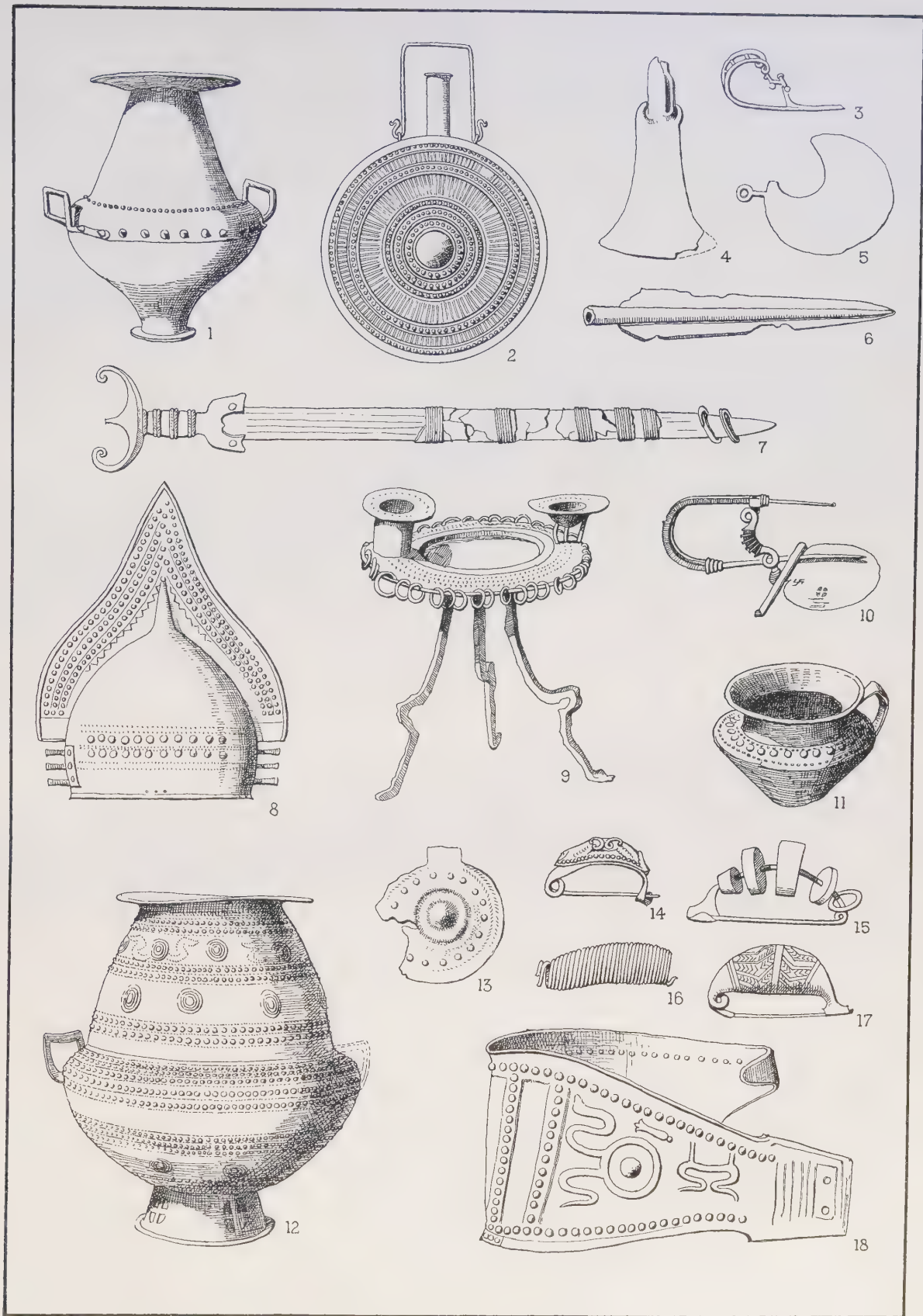
CORNETO. Pottery of Sopra-Selciatello and Poggio dell' Impiccato



CORNETO. Tomb I at Poggio dell' Impiccato



CORNETO. Objects from Poggio dell' Impiccato and Monterozzi



CORNETO. Three Tomb-groups from Monterozzi

Poggio alla Guardia at Vetulonia

Another site which represents all stages of the Villanovan culture from the First Benacci period down to at least the beginnings of the Arnoaldi is that of Poggio alla Guardia at Vetulonia. We shall describe at great length in Chapter V the wonderful Palaeo-Etruscan cemetery for which Vetulonia is chiefly famous. The interest of the Villanovan graves at Vetulonia consists not in their contents, which were singularly poor, but in the picture that they present of a chronological sequence which passes at a perfectly defined point into the Etruscan. The Villanovan cemetery of Poggio alla Guardia is topographically quite distinct from the Etruscan which succeeds it, but just as at Sant' Isaia, outside Bologna, the Villanovan graves of the Arnoaldi site ran up almost to the edge of the Etruscan cemetery, so here the pozzetti actually abut on the first Etruscan graves, but impinge very little on the area which they occupy. This is explained in the text of Chapter V and illustrated by the map in Plate 20. The most interesting of the Villanovan graves for our present purpose are, therefore, those which are situated nearest to the Etruscan. These are, significantly enough, of a new type, for instead of being isolated and independent, the pozzetti are grouped together, and a set of fifteen at a time is surrounded by a ring of rough unhewn stones. Nothing of this kind has ever been observed on any other Villanovan site, and it must be regarded as a local peculiarity, perhaps due to the influence of the neighbouring Etruscans with whom the stone circle was a favourite form of tomb on this particular site. Only three of these rings were found, and two of them were too much ruined to yield any objects worth describing.

The third was a ring of boulders 11 metres in diameter enclosing fifteen pozzetti cut in the natural soil without any sheathing of stone or pebbles. Six of the pozzetti contained pottery ossuaries, but in nine the ossuary was a hut-urn. The tomb furniture is obviously contemporary with that which has just been described in some of the latest graves at Monterozzi. An amber scarab, a disc of gold with geometrical designs in repoussé, and a bronze disc-fibula of the 'elastic-bow' type wrapped round the body with gold wire (Fig. 21) are the most important objects for dating purposes. With them was an iron sword of the type found at Monterozzi (cf. Plate 13, nos. 5 and 7), of which the bronze-clad wooden sheath was engraved with a rude hunting scene.¹ These show the period to be late Second Benacci, which is exactly what would be expected from the position of the circle close to the

¹ See Pernier's *Le arme di Vetulonia* in *Studi e materiali*, vol. iii.

'Foreigner's tomb', in which there was a rich deposit of objects traded from overseas.¹

These are the latest Villanovan graves at Vetulonia of which the period can be precisely identified. There is no room for any others on the same side of Poggio alla Guardia, though there is apparently space for them on the other side towards Belvedere (see map, Plate 20). It is quite possible, however, that the Villanovan graves of the next century or two may be situated on some other part of the site, e. g. at Poggio Baroncio, a kilometre west of Colonna, where there are extensive remains of a cemetery of pozzetti, from which a few objects have been obtained for the Florence Museum.

An inventory of the contents of the pozzetti on Poggio alla Guardia is given by Pasqui in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1885,² and there is a general description of the site in the same pages³ as well as in Falchi's private publication.⁴ The objects are all exhibited in the first room of the 'Museo topografico' in the Museum at Florence. It appears that the graves were thickly planted over the whole of the little hill, as many as 260 being found in a space of only 550 square metres.⁵ They were extremely poor, often yielding nothing more than the mere ossuary with its covering bowl, and at other times containing only one or two bronze fibulae and a razor, with an occasional small piece of amber or glass. Weapons and ornaments were scarce, and only a small proportion of the graves had even any small pottery cups or bowls. This cemetery was composed entirely of cremation graves, without any inhumations and the same trait was observed at Poggio Baroncio.

An examination of the Museum cases in which the objects are exhibited shows that there is a strong family resemblance between the Villanovan culture here and at Bologna. The ossuaries are generally of the standard biconical form, the pottery is the black Mediterranean ware, without a single piece of any other technique, and except for the forms of one or two weapons and minor objects there is little except the hut-urns⁶ to show that the cemetery belongs to Etruria rather than the Bolognese region. Among the few types of household pottery, however, which were placed as accessory vases in the tomb, there are some shapes which are more characteristic of the southern than of the northern schools (see Montelius, Plates 175 and 176). And the very rare and occasional use of a pottery helmet instead of a bowl to cover the ossuary must not pass unobserved. In a certain number of instances an olla or other

¹ For further particulars see below, pp. 103, 104, and Falchi's original description of the circle in *Vetulonia*, pp. 76-86, or *Not. Sc.* 1887, p. 513.

² *Not. Sc.* 1885, pp. 114-52 (fasc. Aprile, cf. fasc. Ottobre).

³ *Ibid.* 1885, p. 98.

⁴ *Vetulonia*, chap. 2.

⁵ For the type of construction see Mont., Plate 175, figs. 1, 2, and 3.

⁶ For two hut-urns from Vetulonia, see Plate 15, nos. 15 and 16.

household pot has been used as an ossuary, e. g. the types shown by Montelius in Plate 175, figs. 18 and 19. It is tempting indeed to suggest that we may even detect the local evolution of the typical Villanovan ossuary from certain simpler forms; but the chronological sequence of tombs is not sufficiently certain to warrant more than the passing suggestion.¹ The types of fibulae include some of the most archaic,² so that there can be little doubt that Poggio alla Guardia dates back to the First Benacci period. And we have seen from the contents of the graves enclosed in the stone circle (p. 57) that it continues down to the late Second Benacci. Whether any part of the Arnoaldi period is represented is not quite easy to determine in view of the fact already stated that the characteristic Arnoaldi pottery of Bologna does not ever come west of the Apennines and that there is, therefore, no trustworthy criterion. The total absence of any bronze helmets, girdles, or vessels of hammered bronze plates is quite remarkable and significant. It suggests that the people of this district did little fine bronze working for themselves, and were not the equals of the northern craftsmen or of their own kinsmen at Corneto.³

Four Cemeteries at Bisenzio

In the days of Pliny there stood on the hills surrounding the Lake of Bolsena a city named Visentium, of which the name has survived into modern days as Bisenzio. The Roman town must have succeeded a wealthy Etruscan settlement, of which some traces have been found in the same area that includes four Villanovan cemeteries. Three sites in this district, named respectively Palazzetta, San Bernardino, and La Polledrara, were explored by Pasqui, and the results published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1886.⁴ They belong to that advanced stage when the Villanovan and Etruscan civilizations overlap, and may be attributed to the late Second Benacci period. To be distinguished from these is a fourth cemetery discovered by Milani in a separate part of La Polledrara, which is earlier and has no traces of Etruscan admixture. It is described in the *Notizie* of 1894, with some illustrations which are reproduced

¹ The specimens numbered in the Museum as 6551, 6571, 6232 are rather suggestive. Other types of ossuaries of a quite different form are 5913, 5989 and 5980, 6316. Some of these, however, are from Poggio Baroncio. The red olla covered with an oval stone shield found 'near circle no. 5' is worth observing. It was accompanied by an iron dagger and iron spear.

² See Montelius, Plate 177.

³ There are some fine specimens of bronze

spears however, e. g. those numbered 5917, 5983, 6021, 6140, 6248, 6270, 6283, and 6572.

⁴ pp. 143-50, La Palazzetta; pp. 177-205, San Bernardino; pp. 290-309, La Polledrara. In spite of the careful inventory and description these accounts are not easy to utilize owing to the paucity of illustrations, a defect which is, however, partially remedied by Montelius's drawings (Plates 255 and 256) from originals in Rome.

by Montelius in his Plate 257. The principal results of these excavations were shared between the Museo Etrusco at Florence and the Museo Preistorico at Rome, in each of which the objects are exhibited according to their proper tomb groups.

Bisenzio shows some interesting new features in its pottery, though in metal-work it is very poor. The three later cemeteries produced several painted geometrical vases (Plate 15, nos. 11-13), and it is all the more important to observe that there are no such vases in Milani's cemetery. So far, therefore, as these excavations carry us it would seem that the geometrical ware does not come into Bisenzio before the late Second Benacci period, practically at the same moment that the Etruscans appear. In this district it appears to be definitely a product of the early eighth century, to judge by the fact that in the Palaeo-Etruscan graves of that date discovered in another small cemetery at Bisenzio, called Le Bucacce,¹ there were several very remarkable specimens associated with imported jewellery from Etruscan Vetulonia.

A conspectus of the principal pottery types from Milani's cemetery can be seen in Montelius, Plate 257, from which four examples are given in our Plate 15, nos. 6-9. The ware is of the usual black Mediterranean kind and the ornamentation is in graffito, diversified sometimes by those bosses and ribs in relief which are so characteristic of the Etrurian and Latian schools. The first point to be observed is that the standard Villanovan ossuary is almost absent; Milani records it only once, and the pots shown as nos. 8 and 9 in our plate are only degraded derivations from it. Often the ossuary is a hut-urn, otherwise it may be an olla or a large jug with one or with two handles. Some new shapes occur among the accessory vases, notably the boat-shaped lamps and the dippers (Montelius, Plate 257, nos. 13, 15, 17, 21). Cups studded with bronze bosses (Montelius, Plate 257, no. 18) are also to be remarked, and a little pottery model of a chariot. Dateable objects are rare, and we must be content to say that the cemetery is earlier than the three others. Disc-fibulae occur and an archaic form of serpentine fibula (Montelius, Plate 257, nos. 2 and 4). In one of the graves which has disc-fibulae there are also leech-fibulae, amber beads, glass beads, and a bronze bulla overlaid with gold leaf; in another there are leech-fibulae, hair-spirals of bronze and amber beads; while in a third there is a bronze serpentine fibula, hair-spirals, an iron semi-lunar razor, and an iron spear. On so small a number of graves—only thirteen—it is impossible to found very positive conclusions; it is only safe to say that the cemetery is certainly as early as Second Benacci, and might possibly be First.

¹ Described in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxi, and discussed in our Chapter VI, pp. 170-74.

In Milani's thirteen graves there were no inhumations, but in the other Polledrara cemetery cremations and inhumations were freely intermingled.¹ If the two types of burial were contemporary at this spot, the period for them all is fixed by the bracelets of silver filigree, the silver fibula and ear-rings of silver wire which occurred in no. 7, an inhumation grave. These must be of the same date as the beginning of Etruscan Vetulonia, and the evidence is corroborated by the contents of several cremation graves which contain bronze situlae (type Montelius, Plate 255, no. 13) and bronze tables like those found in the Monterozzi cemetery at Corneto, as well as an amber scarab. Of thirty-four graves which are recorded, twenty-eight were cremation and six were inhumation. Painted pottery was found as well as the usual household ware, with each type of burial. Here again the Villanovan urn seems to occur only once, when it was of unusual size and apparently used not as an ossuary but as a jar or dolio to contain the real ossuary. There were two hut-urns (tombs 12 and 23). Disc-fibulae occurred two or three times, but later types were also represented.

At La Palazzetta² also stone coffins with skeletons were found close to cremation burials in pozzetti. The contents of four of the pozzetti are given, and from these it can be seen that the date and general character is very similar to that of the cemetery just described.

On the site of San Bernardino³ eighty-nine graves were opened, of which thirty-seven were stone coffins containing skeletons, and fifty-two were pozzetti with cremations. Here, just as in the Forum at Rome the coffins were several times inserted in such a way as partially to destroy a cremation burial, which proves that they were at any rate not earlier than the cremations, and naturally suggests that they may have been a good deal later.⁴ One of the pozzetti, however (No. 31), which was thus cut in two by a later burial, contained a small bronze table supported on iron legs, the remains of a necklace of amber beads alternating with small fusiform bronze tubes, and a small plaque of bronze covered with gold-leaf. This is an equipment which in spite of the two disc-fibulae found with it can hardly be earlier than the end of the Second Benacci. The inhumation graves on the other hand, although so much robbed that they contained little of real value, produced one or two silver fibulae and fragments of small silver ornaments, as well as an amber scarab; objects which would be quite consistent with the first generation of Etruscan Vetulonia. So that the two types of burial may be not far apart in date even though the inhumation must be somewhat the later.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1886, pp. 290-309.

² *Ibid.* 1886, pp. 143-50.

³ *Ibid.* 1886, pp. 177-205.

⁴ Instances are tombs 29, 45, 57, 60, 64, 68, 74.

The most interesting objects from San Bernardino are reproduced by Montelius in his Plate 254. Here, again, the Villanovan ossuary proper was never used, but the regular type of vase used to contain the cremated ashes was a small jug of the shape shown in Plate 15, no. 7. A primitive looking form of hut-urn from this site is illustrated in Plate 15, no. 14. Painted pottery occurs only two or three times and is of a very simple kind, but a plain wheel-made fabric of yellow clay has become quite common.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 15

PLATE 15. VOLTERRA, BISENZIO, VETULONIA.

Nos. 1-5, pottery of Volterra, from the illustrations to the article in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. viii, cols. 101-215. Scale of nos. 1-4 is $\frac{1}{10}$, of no. 5 is $\frac{1}{11}$.

Nos. 6-13, pottery of Bisenzio, from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 256, 257. Scale of no. 6 is $\frac{1}{8}$, of no. 7 is $\frac{1}{7}$, of no. 8 is $\frac{1}{8}$, of no. 9 is $\frac{1}{9}$, of no. 10 is $\frac{1}{8}$, of no. 11 is $\frac{1}{11}$, of no. 12 is $\frac{1}{8}$, of no. 13 is $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 14, hut-urn from Bisenzio, after *Not. Scavi*, 1886, scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 15, hut-urn from Vetulonia, after Falchi, *Vetulonia*, scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

No. 16, hut-urn from Vetulonia, after Falchi, *Vetulonia*, scale $\frac{1}{10}$.



VOLTERRA 1-5. BISENZIO 6-14. VETULONIA 15, 16

Volterra—The Cemetery of La Guerruccia

We may now leave the sea-coast and the centre of Etruria to study the inland regions. Near the northern boundary of the Etrurian Villanovans, which may be placed at the line of the Arno, Volterra, famous in after days as an Etruscan city, has revealed a strongly marked local variety of Villanovan culture. This differs appreciably in character from Corneto, but has more connexion with Bisenzio. The explorations at Volterra have hitherto been on a very limited scale, owing to the peculiar difficulties of the site. Tremendous landslips have carried away great portions of the ancient cemeteries, and only a few graves have been rescued from destruction. Ghirardini, writing in the *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. viii,¹ has made a careful study of these, as well as of the sporadic specimens previously existing in the museum at Volterra. On the site known as La Guerruccia, twenty-two graves were excavated between 1892 and 1896, of which twelve were inhumation and ten cremation. In addition to these there had been found two cremation graves in previous years.² Six of the cremations at La Guerruccia are shown alike by their contents and their position to be exactly contemporary with the inhumations, which lie in the closest juxtaposition to them. And the period of these six is precisely the same as that of the San Bernardino cemetery at Bisenzio, that is to say the end of the ninth century, when the Villanovan culture of the advanced Second Benacci period overlapped with the first settlements of the Etruscans. Late forms of fibulae without any admixture of the more archaic, and small ornaments of bronze and silver precisely like those of the first 'foreign deposits' at Vetulonia characterize the inhumation burials, while similar fibulae and similar pottery are found with the cremations.

It is in the pottery that the local peculiarities of Volterra are most strongly apparent. The standard Villanovan ossuary does not occur at all in the six later cremation tombs—nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 19, and 21. In tomb 4 the ossuary is indeed of a shape which recalls the familiar form (Plate 15, no. 5), but it is wholly peculiar in being wheel-made of fine potter's clay, and ornamented not with incised but *painted* patterns executed in red on a background of white slip.³ It is, therefore, not to be compared with the traditional Villanovan pottery, but with a painted ware which appears at this time on several sites. It has already been noted at Bisenzio, and is very common at

¹ *Mon. Ant.*, vol. viii (1898), cols. 101–215.

in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. i, pp. 155–60, and vol. ii, pp. 149–57.

² Viz. on the site of La Badia. One is described in this article by Ghirardini, the other by Chierici

³ For a parallel at Vulci see Plate 33, no. 7.

Narce, which may have been the centre of the manufacture (cf. below, p. 178). In three of the other tombs, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, there was no ossuary, but the cremated ashes were laid direct in the large ziro containing the other objects. In tomb 19 the ossuary was the olla shown in Plate 15, no. 2. This is a form already observed in the ossuaries of Bisenzio, but the treatment of the surface in this specimen is quite original and new; for the vertical and horizontal lines on the body of the vase are not painted, but left in the original colour of the red polished ware, which is allowed to show through the white slip covering the remainder of the pot. The same technique that is seen in the ossuary of tomb 4 appears again in the ossuary of tomb 21 illustrated on Plate 15, no. 1; here, however, the lines left in the natural red of the clay are accentuated by borders painted in black. A third variety of painted ware is seen in Plate 15, no. 3, which is an *orcio* from tomb 8, with the horned handle that appears again in Plate 15, no. 4, and is so peculiarly characteristic of Volterra. Jugs of the same shape as Plate 15, no. 4 were found in the cremation tombs 4, 6, and 19, and in the inhumation graves 9, 16, and 18.

There were very few ornaments or implements in graves 4, 6, 7, 8, 19, and 21; some bronze fibulae of navicella and sanguisuga form and a simple bronze belt-clasp are, however, sufficiently characteristic. In some of the inhumation graves there were navicella fibulae of a well-marked type with long catch-plate ending in a round button (Montelius, Plate 171, nos. 13 and 14). In others there were the more usual navicella and sanguisuga forms, sometimes with a long and sometimes with a short catch-plate; and in two cases there were heavy iron fibulae of navicella shape. The other characteristic objects found with the skeletons were the swing-handle of a bronze situla, spiral hair-rings of silver, coloured glass beads, a bracelet of thick iron wire, some very simple bronze belt-clasps, iron knives, and iron axes and spears. In one grave, No. 14, were various parts of the harness and equipment of horses, together with iron chariot-wheels, like those so often found in the circle graves of Vetulonia.

Earlier than Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 19, and 21 are the cremation graves Nos. 2, 3, and 5, and perhaps No. 1 also. The later series had been all of the ziro type, and in this earlier series, Nos. 1 and 2 have their ossuary enclosed in the same way within a large jar. But in Nos. 3 and 5 there is no enclosing ziro, and in both these tombs, as well as in No. 1, the ossuary is of a form approximating very closely to the standard Villanovan. Only in No. 2 is it a red olla. But the evidence which fixes the period of this grave is derived not from the character of the burial, although that may have some significance, but from the style of the objects. In No. 2 is a large bronze fibula with leaf-shaped

body and disc for catch-plate,¹ together with a serpentine fibula of which the body is whipped round with bronze wire.² These are far more archaic than the period of Etruscan Vetulonia, and are quite convincing.³ They show that the Villanovan settlement at Volterra dates back at least to the beginning of the Second Benacci, a view which is confirmed by the presence of several isolated objects, of unknown provenance but supposed to come from the district, which are to be seen in the Volterra Museum.

The objects found at La Guerruccia are illustrated, after Ghirardini's article, by Montelius in his Plates 170 and 171, and are to be seen partly in the museum at Volterra and partly in the Museo Etrusco at Florence.



The four sites which have so far been described in this chapter—Corneto, Vetulonia, Bisenzio, and Volterra—are the most characteristic of the Villanovan stations in Etruria. Three other places, however, deserve a brief notice, more on account of their geographical position than of their archaeological character. For it is interesting and important to know that there was a Villanovan settlement at Florence, where a very ancient road traverses the Apennines from Bologna, and another at Terni, which is just beyond the eastern borders of Etruria and actually within the Picene territory. It is quite suggestive also to learn that there were Villanovans in the Faliscan territory, among that enigmatic people who all through their history maintained a character half Latin and half Etruscan. Even then not every Villanovan site in Etruria will have been mentioned, no notice has been included, for instance, of Chiusi,⁴ Caere, and Vulci.⁵ The omission of Veii⁶ is regrettable, but cannot be avoided owing to the long delay which has taken place in the publication of the official record. Lastly, the very important discoveries at Tolfa and Allumiere have been excluded from this chapter in order that they may be treated, where they more properly belong, in connexion with the Villanovan graves of Latium and the Alban hills.

¹ Type of Mont., *Série A*, Plate 18, fig. 39 from the Fonderia at Bologna.

² Type of Mont., *Série A*, Plate 16, figs. 222, 223, and 225.

³ In grave 3 the fibulae were of type Mont., *Série A*, Plate 6, figs. 58 and 59. The iron axe in tomb 2 is to be observed.

⁴ It is impossible to write anything satisfactory on the Chiusi cemeteries of Poggio Renzo and Sarteano, as the original records are extremely slight and casual. The reader may be referred to

Bull. Inst. 1875 and 1879 with *Ann. Inst.* 1875 and 1885 for such small information as exists.

⁵ The excavations at Caere are still unpublished. For Vulci see Gsell *Fouilles de Vulci*.

⁶ Specimens from the excavations of the Villanovan part of Veii are exhibited in the Museo di Villa Giulia at Rome. The report, which was interrupted by the deeply regretted death of Colini is understood to be ready for press. See some notes in Appendix C of this volume, pp. 269, 270.

Villanovan Graves in Florence

The first discovery of Villanovan graves in any part of the district round Florence took place in 1892.¹ Some workmen who were digging the foundations for a building in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, situated, as all readers will remember, in the very heart of the mediaeval city of Florence, came upon a Villanovan ossuary lying in the stratum of sand, 4.75 metres below the present ground level. It was under a patch of Roman mosaic pavement, and had probably been damaged and a little disturbed when that pavement was originally laid. The ossuary is of the regular standard biconical form precisely similar to those of the Benacci periods at Bologna, smooth, without any of the usual incised decoration. No covering bowl was found with it, which may be explained by the disturbance of the ground in Roman times. Inside it lay two fragments of bronze which can be identified as parts of a fibula of that rare archaic type which has a disc instead of a catch-plate, with a body of spirally twisted wire in the shape not of an ordinary semicircular bow, but of a 'Cupid's bow', with two undulations. In the earth surrounding the ossuary were found fragments of two bow-fibulae of the common form with short catch-plate, on which there had been threaded a spherical bead of amber and discoid beads of bone.² This may be called grave no. 1.

Shortly after this some further digging in the Piazza brought to light five more graves at a little distance from the first.³ They were of the same general date and character as the first, but three of them differed from the most usual Villanovan pattern in having their ossuaries enclosed within large jars of the 'dolio' form, a method of burial which is indeed well known at Bologna, but is never common there, and does not occur in the earliest period. South of the Apennines, however, it seems to have been rather a favourite form of burial in many districts, and may go back to almost any part of the Iron Age.

The finest and most characteristic of these 'dolio' burials is that of grave 2, reproduced below as Fig. 10. Over the great jar, 0.55 m. in diameter, was a thin covering-slab of stone; inside the jar was a typical Villanovan ossuary decorated with incised geometrical patterns and covered with the usual inverted bowl. With the burial were three bronze fibulae and a spherical pottery bead. The fibulae (Montelius, Plate 167, nos. 3 and 4) are of distinctly archaic type, a fact which corroborates the evidence of the fragmentary fibula from grave 1, and justifies us in assigning both graves to the same period as the First Benacci at Bologna.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1892, pp. 458-61.

² *Mont.*, Plate 167, nos. 8 and 11.

³ *Mon. Ant.* vi, cols. 1-15.

Grave 3 is very similar to grave 2, except that the ossuary is only half the usual size, a peculiarity explained by the finding of two teeth among the ashes after cremation, which prove the burial to have been that of a young child. The only objects found with it were some small bone discs and fragments of a little bronze chain, which perhaps go together to form a necklace.¹

Grave 6 is the third of these dolii. The great jar itself is decorated with a string-pattern round its neck, instead of being plain as in the other cases. Inside this was an undecorated ossuary of standard pattern, covered with a reversed bowl, which is peculiar in having a triangular handle. A round piece of bronze, evidently part of a large disc-fibula, of which the other parts had perished, was found in the ossuary.²

Grave 4 was another standard Villanovan ossuary decorated with geometrical patterns and covered with a bowl. It was placed in the earth without any covering and not enclosed in a jar. No objects were found with it except a four-sided spindle-whorl of pottery.³

Grave 5 was unique in the form of its ossuary, which is a simple cooking-pot, not at all of the regular Villanovan pattern. It was covered with a thin slab of stone, and contained a leech-fibula, which may be an indication of slightly later date, but need not necessarily bring it down to the Second Benacci.⁴

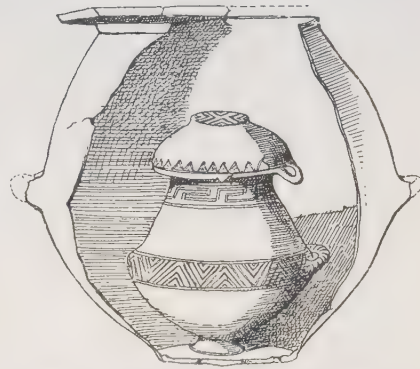


FIG. 10. Dolio containing ossuary. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vi, fig. 1. Scale $\frac{1}{11}$.

Nos. 2-5 inclusive formed a group about 100 metres north of no. 1, while no. 6 was about 40 metres south-east of them. The little series offers only a few examples from what may well have been a large cemetery, of which more traces may still be discovered in the future.⁵ In the meanwhile it is quite important to observe that a Villanovan station contemporary with the earliest known in the Bolognese, existed exactly at the point where the mountain road over the Apennines from Bologna debouched on to the plain of the Arno. And in this connexion it may be noted that the only other Villanovan settlement known anywhere near this region was at Quercianella near Livorno, where the standard type of Bolognese ossuary has been found, as well as a bronze disc-fibula.⁶

¹ Mont., Plate 167, nos. 2 and 10.

² Mont., Plate 167, nos. 6 and 12.

³ Mont., Plate 167, nos. 5 and 9.

⁴ Mont., Plate 167, nos. 1 and 13.

⁵ The contents of all six graves are in the museum at Florence.

⁶ *Bull. Pal. It.* x. 1884, pp. 83-96, and Mont., Plate 169, nos. 15 and 19.

Villanovans at Terni

The construction of numerous buildings in connexion with the great steel works at Terni led to the accidental discovery of numerous tombs, which were reported in so far as this was possible by the local superintendent of the archaeological service. No really satisfactory account, however, could be given until systematic and properly controlled excavations were undertaken on behalf of the Government in 1909. These were necessarily confined to the small area which remained available for exploration, but they are sufficient to give a clear impression of the general character and age of the principal cemetery. The oldest series of graves described belongs quite plainly to the Benacci periods. Inhumations and cremations were interspersed over the same ground, but the inhumations were far the more numerous. In view of the partial and local character of the exploration, however, this must not be taken as any evidence

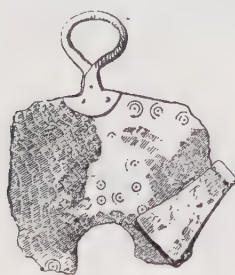


FIG. 11. Quadrangular razor and model axe, of bronze. From *Not. Scavi* 1914, p. 32. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

for the actual proportion of the two races to one another. That the inhuming race was not Etruscan but Picene is shown quite clearly by the character of all the objects found in the tombs.¹ It is worth emphasizing this point because it proves once again, as against Helbig, that a Villanovan when he became tired of being merely himself was not obliged to turn into an Etruscan.

The remarkable fibulae found in the inhumation graves of Terni are quite unlike Etruscan products, and may undoubtedly be attributed to the civilization which was dominant at Novilara and Aufidena. The period for some of the graves is evidently Second Benacci, which is shown by the occurrence of a semilunar razor incised with a drawing of an axe exactly like the Bolognese razor figured in Plate 5, no. 9, as well as by glaze figures of Bes and carved ivory pendants which cannot be much earlier than eighth century.

But some of the nineteen cremations are earlier, and may safely be classed as First Benacci on the evidence of the graves, nos. 7 and 24, in which the characteristic quadrangular razor was found. In no. 7 the razor was attached by oxidization to a bronze amulet in the form of a small axe (Fig. 11).

There are some unusual variations in the construction of the cremation graves. Sometimes the ashes were simply laid in a cylindrical hole without being enclosed in any ossuary, apparently a pauper form of burial with which

¹ This holds not only for the cemetery of the Acciaierie described in *Not. Sc.* 1914, but also for S. Pietro in Campo described in *Not. Sc.* 1916.

no objects or ornaments were associated. Sometimes an ossuary was employed, but was not covered with the usual bowl. In other instances the ossuary, duly furnished with its bowl, was enclosed in a miniature grotto of stones capped with a flat slab. And finally, there were several cases in which the area of the grave was outlined on the surface by a ring of stones. Ossuaries themselves were of the shape shown in Fig. 12, a noticeable divergence from the standard biconical type.



FIG. 12. A typical ossuary at Terni. From *Not. Scavi* 1914, p. 33. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

The Villanovan cemetery at Terni, therefore, offers some interesting local variations of type and custom which deserve to be carefully weighed.¹

Villanovans round Falerii and Narce

South of Terni and a little north-east of the Lake of Bracciano is Cività Castellana, the site of the ancient Falerii, with Narce close to it, but a little higher up the stream of the Treja. At Narce itself and on the cliffs and plateaux for a considerable distance round there are numerous ancient cemeteries, some of which are Etruscan and some Villanovan, but the majority composed of both elements at once with the Etruscan numerically predominant.² One site, viz. Monte S. Angelo, above the head-waters of the Treja, is recorded to have contained nothing but Villanovan pozzetti, without any admixture of inhumations; but the graves had been so much destroyed that the material from them hardly suffices for a close analysis. It can be said, however, that ossuaries of the standard biconical type occurred, that in some cases these ossuaries were protected as at Corneto by a cylindrical casing of stone, and that fragments were found of a hut-urn. Generally the ossuaries were covered with a bowl, but there was one instance of a pottery helmet being used. Amongst the bronze fibulae there were several of disc form, and there was one gold fibula with a short catch-point. There can be little doubt that the period is mainly Second Benacci, but one or two graves may possibly go back earlier.³

Undoubtedly of the Second Benacci period and not earlier are the Faliscan cemeteries of Celle and Montarano. Here the ossuaries are not of biconical form, but are oval or more or less spherical cooking-pots, sometimes covered with a pottery bowl, sometimes with a bronze cap, and in one case with a pottery

¹ The objects are in the Museo Preistorico at Rome. round it in Plates 312-28.

² The objects from cemeteries round Falerii are illustrated by Montelius in Plates 307-11 and 329-31, those from Narce and the cemeteries

³ Objects in the Museo di Villa Giulia. See Della Seta's Catalogue of the Museum, p. 87, which also gives all bibliographical references. See also Mont., Plate 331.

helmet. One ossuary is of bronze. The fibulae are principally of the leech and navicella forms, some with long catch-points and others with short; an iron fibula is of the serpentine type. Among the pottery, which is otherwise insignificant, is to be noted one specimen covered with a white slip and painted with zigzags and bands in red.¹

Apparently the inhumation graves of Montarano are contemporary with the pozzetti. In that case they must belong to the ninth and eighth centuries, which does not exclude them from being Etruscan. And it must be presumed that they actually are Etruscan, for they contain the same kinds of objects which have been found at Corneto, without any of the specifically Picene ornaments which showed Terni to belong to a different culture and tradition.²

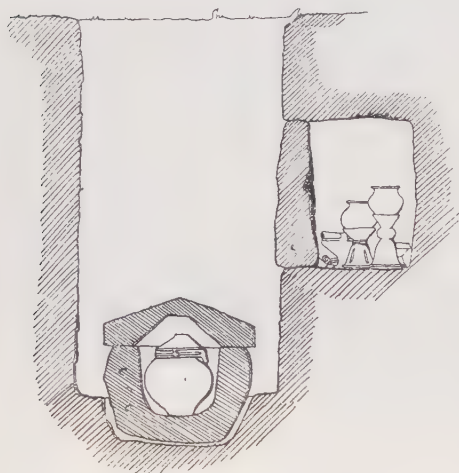


FIG. 13. A pozzetto of latest form at Falerii. After *Mon. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 134. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

It is perhaps significant, therefore, that almost all the other cemeteries round Narce contain at least a few Villanovan pozzetti interspersed with the more numerous Etruscan graves. Thus at Petrina the upper cemetery A, was three-quarters Etruscan and one-quarter Villanovan, though the lower cemetery B was entirely Villanovan; but in C, D, E, and H there was a steady proportion much like that of A, while in each of the cemeteries lettered I, J, L, M, S, and T there were at least one or two pozzetti.³ It seems in fact as if the Villanovans maintained their individuality and status more successfully here than at some other places where they were either swamped or driven out by the

Etruscans. The pozzetti-burials round Narce are by no means poor, they contain an equipment of ornaments and weapons often quite comparable to that of the trench graves. And it is for this reason that a slight modification is sometimes brought into the construction of the tomb. Where there were numerous or bulky objects to be accommodated, a side-recess was sometimes constructed, and the larger objects were placed in the recess. This is a local peculiarity, never found on any other Villanovan sites, but quite easy to explain owing to the exceptional wealth and position which the Villanovans retained in the Faliscan régime during the eighth and perhaps even the seventh century.

¹ Objects in the Museo di Villa Giulia. See Della Seta's Catalogue, pp. 44, 45. See also Mont., Plate 308, nos. 5, 6, 7, and 310, nos. 2 and 4.

² Della Seta's Catalogue, p. 45, Mont., Plate 310, no. 6, Plate 311, nos. 10 and 15.

³ The letters are those given to the cemeteries in the map published with *Mon. Ant.* iv.

IV

THE VILLANOVANS OF LATIUM

IN the third chapter we have reviewed the Villanovans of Etruria, and have found that in the fundamental practices of burial and in the general characteristics of their culture they resemble the Bolognese Villanovans so closely that they must certainly be regarded as a branch from the same parent stock. We have found also that whereas the Etrurian sites belong principally to some stage of the Second Benacci, there are several which go back as early as the First Benacci and are therefore contemporary with the oldest that have yet been reported from the Bolognese district. Though contemporary, however, these sites are not older than any round Bologna, and lend no countenance to the suggestion either that the Bolognese are an offshoot from them, or that the movement of migration was from south to north. On the contrary all the evidence brought forward in the third chapter tends to show that the settlements on each side of the Apennines were simultaneous, while the geographical distribution and environment of the individual sites suggest a movement from the north rather than in the inverse direction.

Together with a strong family resemblance between the two branches there is a great deal of difference in detail ; and even in Etruria itself there is a considerable range of local variation when one place is compared with another. For the Villanovanism of Etruria is throughout less homogeneous and standardized than that of Bologna. Although the burial rite is the same, yet the types of the ossuary are not invariable; and one entire site, Volterra, seems to be unacquainted with the Villanovan ossuary, using a wholly different form. In most of the Etrurian cemeteries, moreover, in which there is any considerable number of graves available for review a form of ossuary appears which is wholly unknown north of the Apennines, viz. the hut-urn modelled in imitation of the dwelling-houses of the living. This is not peculiar to any one period, as it is found in the very archaic cemetery of Selciatello no less than in graves of the Second Benacci period at Poggio alla Guardia.

Yet another peculiarity of the ossuaries among the Southern Villanovans is that they are often covered with a helmet instead of a bowl. This may be due to those beginnings of trade and intercourse with Etruscans and other foreigners from overseas which evidently began to influence the native culture

several generations before the Etruscans actually came to settle in Italy. For the articles of foreign importation, particularly the geometric pottery, show that there was a certain amount of trade with the Aegean even in the First Benacci period, which rapidly increased during the Second Benacci, and reached a high pitch of intensity at the time when the Etruscans themselves arrived, in the latter half of the ninth century.

Nevertheless not all the elements of culture and progress are to be attributed to external influence. There was already a substantial inheritance of independent civilization in Italy, derived from the Bronze Age inhabitants, which formed the soil on which all the new elements were implanted. Metal-work in particular was a craft in which the earliest of the Villanovans excelled, and which there is no reason to suppose that they first learned from the Etruscans. If it is not a native product of the country the origin of this metal-work must be traced not to the Aegean but to the countries north and east of the Alps. And it is in the same direction, that is to say principally towards the Danube, that we are obliged to look for an explanation of the enormous commerce in amber. It is very common in Etruria as well as round Bologna, and must therefore have been brought across the passes of the Apennines, a fact which proves the existence of reciprocal trade between these two branches of the Villanovans from the very beginning. Possibly the amber was exchanged for those glass beads and cylinders which are so frequent at Bologna, and which could not have reached that region by sea. For it is evident, from the absence of any Aegean products except glass in the Bolognese tombs that there was no sea-route in common use from the Adriatic to the East.

In so far as their common background of native Bronze Age culture is modified to produce wider and wider divergencies of detail the peculiarities of the Northern and Southern Villanovans are to be explained by the sources from which they drew their foreign inspiration. The Bolognese, to put it epigrammatically, are the foster-children of the Danube, the Etrurians are the rather backward pupils of the Aegean. In the latter half of the ninth century all the Southern Villanovans fall completely under the domination of the restless imitative progressive Etruscans, but the Bolognese continue for about three centuries after this to develop their own culture on their own lines, almost uninfluenced by the new-comers, with whom they maintained commercial intercourse without sacrificing any part of their own individuality and independence.

Cemeteries in Rome—The Esquiline

The Villanovans of the periods which have just been described have left extraordinarily little trace of their presence in Latium. Outside the city of Rome it cannot be said that there is any evidence of cemeteries or graves belonging to the two Benacci periods which are so richly represented at Bologna and in Etruria.¹ Even in Rome itself the existence of Villanovans might have been altogether denied if it had not been for the discovery of the prehistoric cemetery in the Forum made by Boni in 1902 and succeeding years. For the Esquiline cemetery had yielded practically nothing but inhumation graves, which must, of course, belong to a different race-stock from the cremating Villanovans. Whether this population of the Esquiline is to be identified as Picene or as Etruscan must remain an open question. Indubitably the race-stratum underlying the whole Bronze and Iron Age in this part of Italy is Picene, descended directly from the inhuming people of the Neolithic Age. But whether the actual burials on the Esquiline are Picene or not can hardly be determined at present because it is impossible to obtain sufficient precision in dating them. A study of the tomb-furniture shows indeed that all centuries from the ninth to the sixth are fully represented,² but it is almost impossible to state with certainty that there is any appreciable amount of material earlier than 850 B. C., and yet if the dates are not earlier than 850 B. C., there is nothing to prevent the graves being considered as Etruscan, especially as the whole civilization, alike in its general features and its details, very closely resembles the civilization of Veii and other southern Etruscan sites. At any rate if the people who buried on the Esquiline were Picenes it must be admitted that they had become completely Etruscanized. Whether this process was the result of conquest or peaceful penetration archaeology is powerless to decide; but it is certainly worth while to point out that archaeological evidence in no way opposes but rather tends to confirm the old tradition that Rome was occupied by the Etruscans shortly after its foundation.

The presence of the third element, which joined with Picenes and Etruscans to compose the population of Rome is proved solely by the discoveries in the Forum, of which the results must now be analysed.

¹ The haphazard character of exploration, however, must be taken into account; for the absence of cemeteries may be merely due to the fact that there has been no sufficient incentive to look for them. The Villanovan cemeteries of

Etruria might have lain long undiscovered if they had not chanced to be close to Etruscan graves which promised rich rewards.

² See the plates accompanying Pinza's memoir in *Mon. Ant.*, xv.

Cemeteries in Rome—The Forum

In a small patch of ground close to the temple of Faustina Boni discovered what is probably no more than a corner of the oldest cemetery in Rome.¹ Of its original extent no estimate can be formed, but it is reasonable to conjecture that the forty graves which were actually found represent only a small part of the whole, and it would not be surprising if future excavations were to disclose more graves of the kind in almost any part of the Forum. Fourteen of those which were found contained the bones of infants, so that too much stress must not be laid on the rite on their case, for the phrase 'minor igne rogi' may quite possibly apply even to quite ancient times. Of the remainder thirteen are cremation, twelve are inhumation, and one grave combines both rites.²

A very long range of time is represented by these forty graves. The latest, G in Boni's list, contains an imported Greek lekythos painted not merely with bands but with figures of running dogs. This must be quite late in the seventh century. A little earlier, but also probably of the seventh century, are the graves I, K, M, AA, which all contain 'pre-Corinthian' pottery painted with bands, while in three of them this pottery is accompanied by bronze navicella fibulae. In K and M there are bronze bracelets and in M there are also iron bracelets and amber ear-rings, while in I and AA there are ivory bracelets.³ To the eighth century rather than the seventh we attribute D, with its silver leech-fibula, skyphos of black bucchero, and 'olletta' painted with red lines.⁴ And L, O, HH, II, which all look earlier than the middle of the seventh century may quite possibly belong to the eighth.⁵

All these that have been mentioned so far are of the inhumation rite, and there is nothing to show that any cremation graves in the Forum can be dated as low as the eighth century. For it is to a very much earlier period, contemporary not with the Second but with the very beginnings of the First Benacci, that all the cremation graves and three of the inhumations viz. B, P, KK, must be ascribed. So archaic indeed is the character of the contents in several that it may be quite legitimate even to regard them as actually pre-Benacci. They are so very closely related to the cremation graves of the Alban hills that they must be almost contemporary with them, and the graves of the Alban hills

¹ Described in very closely detailed reports in *Not. Sc.* 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906, 1911. The objects are all in the Museum of the Forum.

² Grave PP, described in *Not. Sc.* 1911, pp. 187-99.

³ G is described in *Not. Sc.* 1903, pp. 379-93. Cf. *Mont.*, Plate 357; I in *Not. Sc.* 1903, pp. 394-

414. Cf. *Mont.*, Plate 356; K in *Not. Sc.* 1903, pp. 416-27. Cf. *Mont.*, Plate 357; M in *Not. Sc.* 1905, pp. 150-67; AA in *Not. Sc.* 1911, pp. 157-63.

⁴ *Not. Sc.* 1903, p. 159. Cf. *Mont.*, Plate 357.

⁵ L is described in *Not. Sc.* 1905, p. 146; O in *Not. Sc.* 1905, p. 178; HH in *Not. Sc.* 1911, p. 178; II in *Not. Sc.* 1911, p. 179.

in turn, we shall show to be pre-Benacci, dating back almost to the period of transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron. But it must not be supposed that there is necessarily any break or interruption in the use of the cemetery. The local evidence does not at all suggest disuse after the pre-Benacci period followed by a resumption of burying in the eighth century. Rather the whole cemetery seems to be continuous and homogeneous so that there is nothing to prevent us from regarding it as a graduated sequence, beginning in the twelfth or eleventh century and continuing down to the end of the seventh. For some of the cremation graves which have no dating objects other than local pottery may well be of the ninth century, and a certain number of the *fosse* could very

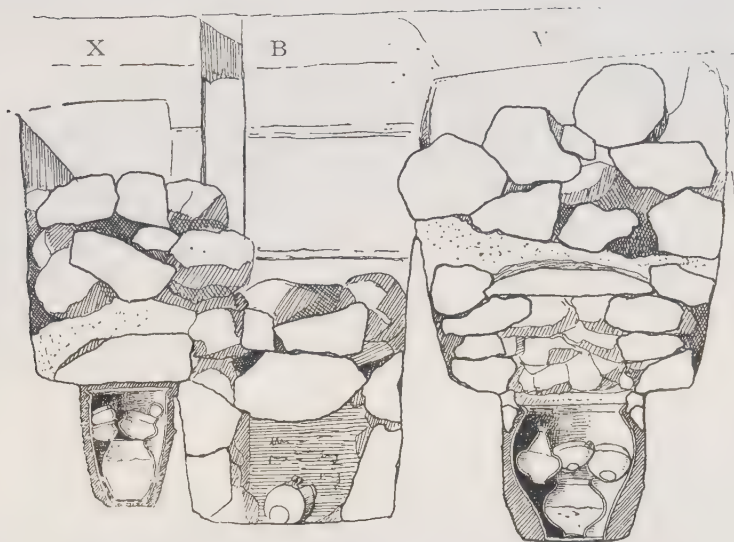


FIG. 14. Section of graves x, b, v After *Not. Scavi* 1906, p. 257. Scale $\frac{1}{30}$.

well be eighth.¹ In regard to these *fosse* it may be remarked in passing that as the early inhumations in B, P, KK must necessarily be pre-Etruscan it is natural to suppose that *all* the inhumations in the Forum are of the Picene race.

The fact that some of the *fosse* are cut across other graves so as partially to destroy them is of little value for purposes of dating, as this might have happened within a generation or within a year. Actually it is true that the late seventh-century grave G is so cut as partially to destroy Q and R which are several centuries earlier, but this does not prove that B which similarly destroys the pozzetto lettered x is appreciably later than x. On the contrary the contents of B show it to be one of the earliest in the whole cemetery and all that is proved by this evidence is that x is equally archaic.

¹ It would, of course, be no answer to this to say that forty graves is an insufficient number to be spaced over so many centuries, for these forty probably represent only a fraction of the original cemetery.

Three out of the thirteen cremation graves, viz. S, U, Y, and two of the inhumation graves, viz. B and P, contained each a complete example of the serpentine bronze fibula shown in Fig. 15.

This is a very archaic type of fibula, found also at Grottaferrata, which is known to belong to the first beginnings of the Iron Age and to the period of transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages. Fragments of bronze fibulae from the cremation grave C may with great probability be ascribed to the same class, and the inhumation grave KK contained the disc of a fibula which must belong to a similar if not identical form. In the same grave KK together with this fragment was a complete bronze fibula of the equally archaic type shown in Fig. 16, viz. the full bow incised with lines and herring-bones; this occurs again by itself in the cremation grave T.

It may be considered then to be established by the evidence of the fibulae that the cremation graves, C, S, T, U, Y, and the inhumation graves B, P, and KK,

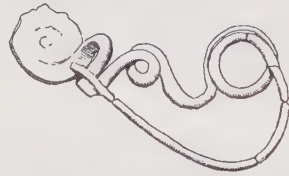


FIG. 15. Fibula from grave U. After *Not. Sc.* 1906, p. 44. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

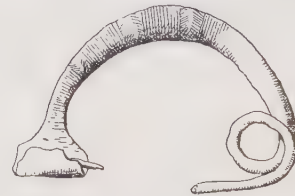


FIG. 16. Fibula from grave KK. After *Not. Sc.* 1911, p. 103. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

constitute a group which is more archaic than any yet considered in these pages. To them may be added by the irrefutable evidence of relative position the cremation grave X, as it is proved to be not later than B which partially destroyed it. This group must be at least as early as the First Benacci period, and the only doubt is whether or not to identify it quite exactly with the series in the Alban hills, which would make it *pre*-Benacci.

For the other seven cremations A, N, Q, R, V, DD, and GG, the evidence is less conclusive as no fibulae or other objects were found in them on which a chronological argument can be founded. But the type of burial, and the complete identity of all the pottery forms, including a hut-urn, justify the supposition that they are approximately contemporary with the first group. No weapons or implements were found in any of these sixteen graves, and the only remains of ornaments were two little bronze pendants in GG, and fragments of amber with parts of a finger-ring in Q.¹

The form of grave for the cremations was a large dolio covered with a flat

¹ The description of A is to be found in *Not. Sc.* 1902, p. 96; of B in 1903, p. 131, and 1906, p. 253; of C in 1903, p. 140; of N and P in 1905, p. 171; of Q to Y in 1906, pp. 5-46, 253-94; of DD, GG, KK in 1911, pp. 165-84.

stone slab, containing an ossuary which was never of the standard Villanovan shape but varied through several forms of pitcher and olla (Plate 16, nos. 14-17). Except when it was a hut-urn of which there were five instances.¹ A curious compromise between the two principal types of ossuary is shown in Plate 16, no. 15 from grave A, in which the spherical pottery jar is covered with a round lid which is fashioned like the roof of a hut. This same peculiarity recurs at Grottaferrata² and at San Sebastiano near Albano.³ In Fig. 17 is shown a section of grave A, with the small pots and bowls standing round the ossuary.

The discovery of three inhumation burials of practically the same antiquity as these Villanovans of the very earliest Benacci period is of great interest and importance. In this case there can be no doubt as to their racial origin, for they antedate the arrival of the Etruscans by at least two centuries. Consequently these three persons may be classed without any hesitation as Picenes, direct descendants in all probability of the original neolithic stock which inhabited all this region before the Villanovans came there. As they buried in the same cemetery, used the same pottery, and wore the same dress and ornaments it is probable that the two races were living side by side, and perhaps forming a unified nation, three hundred years before the legendary foundation of Rome.

The inhumation graves contained no hut-urns, and indeed hut-urns have never yet been found except as repositories for ashes. Two examples of these early dwellings are figured in Plate 16, nos. 12, 13, and may be compared with those shown in Plate 15, from Bisenzio and Vetulonia as well as with the examples from the Alban hills. Of the other pottery from the cremation graves a representative series is shown in Plate 16. It is all rough and hand made, of the old black Mediterranean ware, often ornamented with raised bosses and ribs but very seldom with incised geometrical patterns. Nevertheless it must not be supposed that geometrical patterns were quite unknown, for the ossuary in tomb R (Plate 16, no. 17) is decorated with incised maeanders in a style which is quite like the regular Villanovan. In fact though all this pottery has a distinctly local character and may be regarded as typically Latian there is so

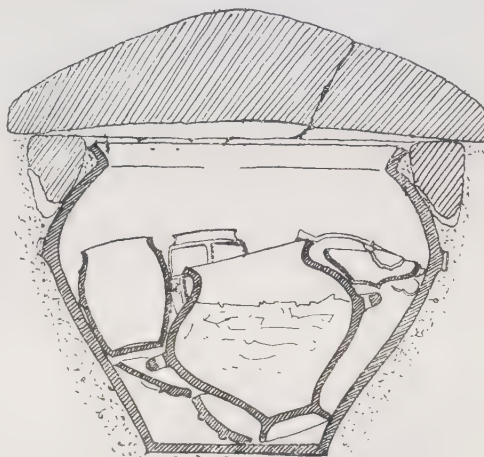


FIG. 17. Section of dolio-grave A. After *Not. Scavi* 1902, p. 102. Scale $\frac{1}{16}$.

¹ Hut-urns occurred in graves C, Q, U, Y, GG.

² *Mont.*, Plate 136, no. 8.

³ *Mon. Ant.*, xv, Plate 19, nos. 15, 17.

little on the whole to differentiate it from much of the pottery of the Etrurian Villanovans that it is hard to see any justification for Modestov's denial that the cemeteries of the Forum and the Alban hills are Villanovan. He is arguing that they must belong to settlers from the *terremare*, whom he supposes to have migrated in the Bronze Age from their original homes in the marshes of the Po valley.¹ This in itself is quite possible but is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that they are also Villanovans. Indeed, according to Pigorini's theory, which will be more fully discussed later in this chapter, the two propositions are identical, for to Pigorini all Villanovans are descendants of the *terramaricoli*. Modestov, however, denies all connexion between them, preferring to hold with Brizio that they are two entirely distinct races of different origin.

The Cemeteries of the Alban Hills—Villa Cavalletti near Grottaferrata

The most archaic group of burials in the Forum at Rome is connected by the closest possible resemblances with the cemeteries found in the Alban hills. An examination of the three most complete tomb-groups from the Villa Cavalletti at Grottaferrata, as illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 135, will show that

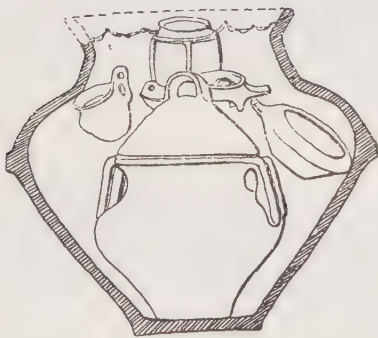


FIG. 18. Section of dolio-grave.
After *Not. Sc.* 1902, p. 138. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$.

almost every object in them might have come from a grave in the Forum. Thus one grave contains a hut-urn, together with a serpentine fibula of the type shown in our Fig. 15, and a little crescent-handled dipper like the specimen in our Plate 16, no. 10. Another is a burial in a dolio precisely similar to the dolio of grave A (Fig. 17), with an ossuary of the same form covered with the same peculiar architectural lid, and accompanied by a small reticulated vase identical with one in grave A, together with a brazier of the type found in grave Y.

The third Villa Cavalletti grave is shown in Fig. 18, for comparison with Fig. 17 which illustrates grave A in the Forum. The resemblance will be apparent at a glance. And it is a resemblance which goes into quite small detail, for practically all the minor objects might have been found in the Forum; the fibula is of the archaic type shown above in Fig. 16; the reticulated vase, the boat-shaped pottery lantern and the spectacle-handled cup, are all types which occur repeatedly in the Forum.

¹ Modestov, *Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, p. 235.

It is evident therefore that in the Alban hills there was a Villanovan population during the very earliest Benacci or even pre-Benacci period, that is to say in the eleventh or twelfth century B. C., and that this population was identical in all outward respects with the Villanovans of Rome. We may now describe the several cemeteries found on the shores of Lake Albano from Grottaferrata to Castel Gandolfo.

The Cemeteries of the Alban Hills—Castel Gandolfo

The first discoveries of prehistoric antiquities in the Alban hills were made over a century ago upon some high ground west of the Lake of Albano in the immediate neighbourhood of the modern village of Castel Gandolfo. The map given by Pinza in his *Necropoli laziali*¹ and reproduced by Montelius² shows the two sites. One is in the meadow called 'Il Pascolare', where in 1816 hut-urns and very archaic pottery were accidentally brought to light, the other is in a vineyard on Monte Cucco where Signor Carnevali of Albano undertook some speciously formal excavations in 1817.³ It seems that the informal excavations were far the more successful, and that the great majority of the specimens duly sold by Carnevali to various purchasers really came from Il Pascolare. But it may be well in regard to any specimens of doubtful date to remember that the products of two distinct cemeteries have been fused as there were also apparently one or two graves of a later period on Monte Cucco from which occasional objects may have slipped into the collections.⁴

The discoveries at Castel Gandolfo were first made known by Visconti, in an open letter published in the *Atti dell' Accademia Romana d' Archeologia*.⁵ After many years they were brought before English readers by Pigorini and Lubbock in a contribution to vol. xlii of *Archaeologia* (1869) which treated of all the most important points and correctly defined the archaeological period, pointing out its Villanovan affinities.⁶ In the meanwhile a great deal of useless controversy

¹ *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, vol. xxviii, p. 147.

² *Série B*, text, col. 655.

³ With all the pompous apparatus of a notary to put his official seal on the record, a piece of ceremony which so far misled a very distinguished archaeologist that he once spoke of the results as 'judicially proved'!

⁴ For this warning we are indebted to the article by Pinza in *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, vol. xxviii, pp. 148, 149. He has ascertained that the specimens which he enumerates as contained in the Vatican museum are all from the excavations of 1816, but considers that any of the other col-

lections may contain a fusion from both sites. Of course the doubt does not affect more than one or two specimens at most and need not be taken too seriously.

⁵ Vol. i, pt. 2, p. 157 (1817) entitled *Lettera al Signor Giuseppe Carnevali di Albano*.

⁶ This article in *Archaeologia* incorporates everything of the slightest importance in Visconti's *Lettera*—a magniloquent document which has no value apart from its four plates of illustrations and the very few lines of description which serve as an introduction to the signature of the notary and witnesses.

had arisen, which has quite unnecessarily overburdened the bibliography, as to whether the burials had or had not been found underneath strata caused by an eruption. For there were some audacious theorists who imagined that the period of the finds could be determined by showing that they were more ancient than the eruptive period of Monte Cavo. As a matter of fact this would not necessarily give them any great antiquity; for the statements of Livy plainly indicate that there were eruptions even during the time of the Republic. But it is really of no importance whatsoever to know whether De Rossi was right or wrong in regard to the strata and the position of the objects in regard to them, for, as de Rossi himself eventually admitted, archaeology can supply all the comparative material necessary for dating. So that if there is any interest at all in the discussion it is an interest only for the geologist, who may possibly be glad to know that an eruption of Monte Cavo is dated on archaeological evidence to about 1100 B. C.¹

There are no details of the graves found in 1816-17 but there is just sufficient record to show that in some cases at least the burial was in a dolio containing the ossuary and tomb-furniture, which consisted mainly of pottery with only a very few other objects. Visconti gives a drawing of a typical grave and its contents, which may not be an actual facsimile of any one example but can no doubt be trusted to express the type.² It precisely resembles in all general features the characteristic dolio graves of the Roman Forum or the example shown in Fig. 18 from the Villa Cavalletti at Grottaferrata. The ossuary is a hut-urn, contained as in grave γ of the Forum, within a very large and wide spherical jar. Round the ossuary are grouped no less than thirteen pots, the shapes of which are a reticulated barrel like Plate 16, no. 9, a brazier like Plate 16, no. 7, a boat-shaped pottery lamp like Plate 16, no. 2, and simple bowls with one handle or two. All these are types perfectly familiar in the earliest group of Forum graves.

There were, however, several wholly new shapes of pottery found at Castel Gandolfo, three of which are shown in Plate 17, nos. 15, 16, and 18. A curious hybrid between spherical ossuary and hut-urn is shown by Montelius in his Plate 140, no. 1, from the collection at Berne. The true hut-urns, of which the Vatican possesses five, are certainly from Il Pascolare, and add one or two variations of style and detail to those which have been noted on other sites; the most peculiar is no. 22 in Plate 17, which is oval in its elevation, with walls which are not vertical but rounded. Hut-urns were a novelty when these were found,

¹ Montelius accepts De Rossi's contention, see *Civ. Prim.*, *Sér. B*, cols. 680-2, and quotes some passages of the controversy which may divert those who have leisure for irrelevancies.

² Visconti, Plate 1, reproduced by Pinza in *Mon. Ant.*, xv, fig. 125 and cols. 333-4.

and provoked an enormous amount of interest. The article by Pigorini and Lubbock in *Archaeologia*¹ discusses them with particular reference to their distribution in northern Europe, and enumerates several Bronze Age sites in Germany on which similar models of dwelling-houses were used to contain the cremated ashes of the dead. As customs of the kind are not readily borrowed by one race from another this is a point which must certainly be taken into account in any discussion of the origin and affiliations of the Villanovans.

The hut-urns, pottery, and other objects from Il Pascolare and Monte Cucco were sold, some to the Vatican, some to Berne, and others to various private individuals through whom they have passed into public collections. There is a list of the Vatican specimens in Pinza's *Necropoli Laziali*² and a list of those at Berne in an article by Undset in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana*.³ A few found their way into the Museo Preistorico at Rome, and a certain amount of the pottery was purchased for the museum of Parma, while the collection of De Blacas passed ultimately into the British Museum.⁴

The period of the burials which have just been described at Castel Gandolfo is fixed, like those of the Forum at Rome, by the types of the fibulae. These were of the very archaic forms already illustrated in Figs. 15 and 16, which are certainly not later than First Benacci and may be even earlier. The two wavy-bladed bronze knives shown in Fig. 19 are of a form which occurred in a pile-dwelling of the Bronze Age on the Lago di Garda, as was pointed out by Pigorini and Lubbock in their article.

Iron was not found and the whole series of objects suggests the moment of transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages rather than even the beginnings of the First Iron Age. It is for this reason that we are disposed to class the Gandolfo cemeteries as *pre*-Benacci in contradistinction to the San Vitale and Savena sites at Bologna which are precisely First Benacci. How nearly the Alban cemeteries are related to the end of the Bronze Age will appear more clearly when those of Allumiere come under review.

In a vineyard close to the chapel of San Sebastiano at Castel Gandolfo, that is to say within a few minutes' walk of the Pascolare cemetery, some graves were discovered in 1882 by the side of an ancient road.⁵ They were briefly

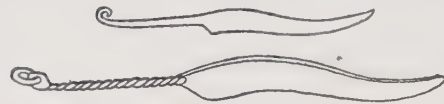


FIG. 19. Two bronze knives from Il Pascolare. After *Archaeologia*, vol. xlii, p. 119. No scale published.

¹ Vol. xlii, *Notes on the hut-urns and other objects discovered in an ancient cemetery in the Commune of Marino*. latter's *Recueil d'antiquités suisses*, Plates 16, 17.

² *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, xxviii, pp. 152-6.

³ *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. ix, p. 136 and Plate 6. This refers to the collection of Bonstetten, cf. the

⁴ Cf. De Blacas in *Mém. Soc. imp. des Antiquaires de France*, xxviii (1864).

⁵ See Pinza's map in *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, xxviii, p. 149, or Montelius, *Sér. B.*, col. 655.

described by De Rossi in the *Notizie degli Scavi* ¹ and some specimens from them were placed in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. On this site the form of the grave was duly noted, and it is stated to have been a jar-burial in a rough dolio, generally about 60 centimetres in height and the same in diameter, sunk in a hole made expressly to receive it in the semi-tufaceous rock. Within the dolio were the usual pottery vases, and an ossuary containing the cremated ashes together with an occasional fibula. Over the mouth of the jar was a slab of stone, which was judged to have been flush with the original surface of the ground. In some instances there was no dolio but the ossuary was simply placed in a hole, revetted at the sides with stones and covered with a slab. From one of these latter graves came the only hut-urn which is recorded. There was no definite order in the arrangement of the graves, which occurred on the average about one to every five square metres. A detailed list of the objects from San Sebastiano in the Capitoline Museum is given by Pinza.² The fibulae are of the serpentine and plain bow forms, a fact which shows the graves to be contemporary with those of Il Pascolare. In the main the pottery very clearly resembles that from Il Pascolare and the most archaic graves of the Forum, but one or two variations are to be remarked, notably the combination shown in Plate 17, no. 23, of a jar with a brazier in a single piece. Most of the ossuaries are squat cooking-pots, but one, Plate 17, no. 20, is a two-handled jug with a lid modelled like the roof of a hut-urn.

The remarkable hut-urn which is shown in Plate 17, no. 21, with a pair of tree-trunks for columns on each side of the door was found by De Rossi on the site called Campo Fattore. This is a vineyard near the bottom of the western slopes of Monte Crescenzo about two-thirds of the way to Marino from Castel Gandolfo. Four tombs were found here in 1871,³ two of which were shaped like round cists made by planting vertical slabs into the ground (see Mont., Plate 140, no. 11). De Rossi calls them 'dolmens', but this is of course a misnomer and suggests a wholly different set of ideas and connexions; they are rather to be compared to the oblong cists of stone slabs that have been observed on various other Villanovan sites both north and south of the Apennines.⁴ The first grave contained the hut-urn but no other objects, and the second contained only three small pots of the forms usual at this period. All four graves had evidently been disturbed and plundered at some date long before their discovery. The third was a block of peperino in the centre of which there had been hollowed a semi-circular cavity which still contained traces of an ossuary with its ashes; this is

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1882, p. 272.

Arch., xxviii, p. 164, and *Mon. Ant.*, xv, col.

² *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, xxviii, p. 157, with Plate 11.

328.

³ *Ann. Inst.* 1871, p. 243. Cf. *Bull. Comm.*

⁴ Villanova itself (p. 7 and Fig. 2), San Vitale (p. 12), Selciatello (p. 42).

interesting as forming a link with the stone receptacles used in the cemeteries of Allumiere (cf. below, pp. 88, 89). The fourth grave was a dolio in which nothing remained.¹

The Cemeteries of the Alban Hills—Villa Cavalletti near Grottaferrata

The most important of all the sites in the Alban hills for the student, because it was discovered in recent years and there is a great deal of well-authenticated evidence in regard to it, is the Villa Cavalletti, half-way between Grottaferrata and Frascati.² On a previous page (p. 78) it has been pointed out that the three most complete graves at Villa Cavalletti are absolutely identical in all their general characteristics with the graves of the most archaic group in the Forum. We have now to consider the whole Cavalletti group more closely and to show how it confirms the discoveries made at Castel Gandolfo, connecting the entire Alban series on the one side with the graves of the Forum, and on the other with those of Allumiere, which are recognized as transitional between the Bronze and Iron Ages.

The cemetery of Villa Cavalletti was discovered like so many others as a result of breaking up some ground for a vineyard. The proprietor of the land showed admirable public spirit in promptly reporting the find to the proper authorities, with the result that two very highly skilled archaeologists were sent out at once to examine and report. They saw a few graves actually in process of excavation, examined the groups of objects which had been kept together from those opened before their arrival, and compiled a very carefully studied report on which the following condensed account is based.³

The number of graves in the vineyard could not be precisely ascertained, but was not less than thirty, of which unfortunately the majority had been opened before the arrival of the trained archaeologists. Exact observations were made upon eight sets of objects, and the rest of the material was closely examined and analysed without being grouped. It is extraordinarily homogeneous, confirming and strengthening the results which have been already outlined in our preliminary remarks (p. 78) on three of the most perfect groups. All the burials were of course cremations, and the type of grave was a pozzetto (Mont., Plate 135, no. 1) which contained at the bottom the ossuary with its accompanying pottery,

¹ The objects from Campo Fattore are in the Museo Preistorico at Rome.

² See map in *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 135, reproduced by Montelius, *Série B*, col. 674.

³ *Not. Sc.* 1902, pp. 135-98 by Colini and

Mengarelli. This report should be very closely read by those who wish to study the Alban cemeteries in detail. The objects are in the Museo Preistorico at Rome, and have been reproduced by Montelius in his Plates 135-8.

sometimes enclosed in a large jar or dolio (see above Fig. 18) and sometimes not enclosed. The types of the great dolii vary ; the two shown in Montelius, Plate 135, no. 19 and 136, no. 13 are already familiar as having occurred in the Forum, but the coarse bin shown in Montelius Plate 136, no. 14 is a novelty, and peculiar to this site. Of the ossuaries six were hut-urns, and on these the authors of the report judiciously remark that they exhibit such a complete range of types as to discredit the efforts that have sometimes been made to classify hut-urns chronologically in accordance with their architectural development. The other ossuaries are more or less adapted forms of cooking-pots, jugs and ordinary household jars, which can all be paralleled from the other Alban cemeteries or the Forum. Two of the most characteristic are shown in our Plate 17, nos. 12 and 13, a third is the more or less spherical olla which occurs also on sites in Etruria. There are two instances in which the simple cooking-pot has a lid shaped architecturally like the roof of a hut-urn (cf. above p. 82). Some of these primitive forms, notably Plate 17, no. 13, are found in the *terremare*.

The smaller vases which are buried with the ossuary are of the same technique and general character as those already seen in the Forum, and at Castel Gandolfo. They belong to a very primitive type of manufacture which is found widely diffused over Latium as well as Southern Etruria. The tendency, however, to ornament the surface with studs or bosses of clay and reticulated strips is particularly marked in Latium, and the bridge-handle of cups and bowls (Plate 17, no. 1) is very specially Latian. Most of the pots are ornamented with simple patterns, either punched with a point or produced by impressing a shell on the wet clay. The favourite scheme of reticulation (Plate 17, no. 4, cf. 17) is no doubt a survival from basket work. Other shapes are the reproduction of wine skins and leathern bottles. Quite a number of the simpler forms are inherited with very little change from the Bronze Age, a fact, however, which has no value in itself for dating purposes, as such forms may survive among conservative potters for any number of generations. On the other hand there are very few pots which are connected with any period except the most archaic. Such unwarrantable deductions, however, have been drawn from the occurrence of a small 'orciuolo' (Plate 17, no. 14) which somewhat resembles a miniature Villanovan ossuary that it should be particularly noted. We suggest that its resemblance to the ossuary is probably fortuitous and that the *orciuolo* has been developed quite independently ; the shape commended itself for some reason of convenience in keeping liquids, and was therefore adopted at an early date and used even by the inhuming people on the Esquiline ; it has no specific connection with the Villanovans and is not necessarily even derived from them.

The Villanovan ossuary itself is not found at Grottaferrata and there is no evidence that it has ever been found yet in the Alban hills or in Rome.¹

Only one of the pots illustrated in Plate 17 is peculiar to Grottaferrata, that is no 11 which does not occur on any other site. There are two examples of the curious combination of brazier and cooking-pot in one piece, similar to the example (Plate 17, no. 23) at Castel Gandolfo.

Bronze objects other than fibulae are few at Villa Cavalletti but are highly characterized. The most important is the quadrangular razor, rare in Latium, and diagnostic of an extremely early period. It has been noted in First Benacci graves north and south of the Apennines (pp. 15, 44, 68), and it is found at Allumiere as well as on sites like Timmari belonging to the very dawn of the Iron Age. All the other bronze specimens are funerary models not intended for actual use. Of these there are an oblong and a quadrangular razor, a wavy-bladed knife, two miniature spears and a small circular disc with repoussé bosses, possibly a miniature shield.² These corroborate the date of the bronze models of spears found at Castel Gandolfo.³ The knife is of a form which is known as proper to the very first moments of the Iron Age, and has been found as early as the Bronze Age lake-dwelling of Peschiera. All the fibulae are of very archaic types, the latest in development being the one shown by Montelius in Plate 138, no. 3, with which may be compared his Plate 138, no. 11, a slightly earlier model. In Montelius, Plate 138, no 2, is seen a modification of the serpentine which is not known in any other Latian cemetery. With these exceptions all the fibulae are either of the spiral-disc type, or else the plain bow with incised body seen already (Figs. 15, 16) in the Forum, and at Castel Gandolfo; each of which is found at Allumiere and on the transitional site of Fontanella. It is clear, therefore, that all the dating objects agree in assigning Villa Cavalletti at latest to a very early stage in the First Benacci; and we may go further and say that all except one or two tombs may be regarded as positively *pre*-Benacci. It is very remarkable, therefore, to find gold already in use, albeit very sparsely. Thus in the complete tomb illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 135, nos. 11-18, the bow-fibula no. 16 has a whipping of gold wire, and besides the little bronze (not gold) spiral shown in his no. 13 there were also finger-rings not only of bronze wire but of gold wire. In the same tomb there were amber beads bored for stringing into a necklace, and one of those primitive human figures which Visconti records also from Castel Gandolfo.

Very close to the Villa Cavalletti another group of graves was discovered in

¹ Pinza publishes a Villanovan ossuary from the De Rossi collection in *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, vol. xxvi, Plate 6, fig. 8, but there is no evidence to show that it came from the Alban hills, the attribution is a mere guess.

² Mont., Plate 138.

³ Mont., Plate 139, nos. 8 and 13.

1879 in a vineyard known as the Vigna Giusti.¹ The burials were mostly in dolii, but there was one instance of a hut-urn placed without any enclosing jar in a pozzetto of which the sides were revetted with stones. In this hut-urn were the only small objects which have been kept together. They can be seen in the Museo Preistorico at Rome and consist of a little bronze pendant and a little circlet, finger-ring, circular bracelet, and serpentine fibula—all of bronze. The pottery from these graves is of exactly the same character as at the Villa Cavalletti. One or two graves of the same period have been found close to the modern cemetery of Marino,² while occasional sporadic discoveries have been made at various points and even as far round as Velletri;³ which all goes to show that the Alban hills were quite closely settled in the pre-Benacci time.⁴

It is interesting also to note that at Palombara Sabina, about five miles from Tivoli, some graves were discovered of which just enough has been preserved to show that they are precisely contemporary with those of Castel Gandolfo and Grottaferrata.⁵

The Sites of Tolfa and Allumiere

A very valuable link between the earliest Latian and Etrurian cemeteries, which at once corroborates the Villanovanism of the former, and shows their close relationship to the latest Bronze Age, is furnished by the sites of Tolfa and Allumiere. These are in the mountains of southern Etruria not far from Civitavecchia, and are more ancient than any of the Etrurian sites which were considered in the last chapter. The discoveries were made during a series of years when Klitsche de la Grange was inspector of antiquities for the district. He reported them in a series of communications to the *Notizie degli Scavi*, as well as in two separately published monographs.⁶

More recently the specimens presented by him to the Museo Preistorico at Rome have formed the subject of an admirable study by Colini, which places them in their exact relation to the cemeteries of Castel Gandolfo, and Grottaferrata.⁷

The first of these discoveries to be considered is that of a hoard or deposit of bronze objects from the site called Coste del Marano at Tolfa, which is

¹ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* xxviii, p. 159.

² *Mon. Ant.*, xv, p. 329.

³ *Ibid.*, xv, p. 342.

⁴ Cemeteries of much later date, for the most part about seventh century and, of course, not Villanovan at all are—Vigna Meluzzi, Santi Limiti, Vigna Caracci, Vigna Cittadini.

⁵ *Not. Sc.* 1902, p. 20 and *Mon. Ant.* xv, p. 325. The diagnostic objects are a wavy-bladed bronze knife and the handle of a quadrangular bronze

razor, with which there were fragments of a vessel of hammered bronze. The specimens are in the Museo Preistorico at Rome.

⁶ *Intorno ad alcuni sepolcreti arcaici rinvenuti nei monti delle Allumiere presso Civitavecchia*, Roma, 1879. *Nuovi ritrovamenti paleoetnologici nei territori di Tolfa e di Allumiere*, Roma 1881.

⁷ *Bull. Pal. It.*, vols. xxxv, xxxvi. The article is fully illustrated and contains very valuable discussions and comparisons.

just a little more archaic in character than the actual graves, and throws considerable light on their parentage and connexions. Of this deposit Colini writes that it comes in immediate succession to the less ancient strata of the *terremare*, and precedes the very archaic cemeteries of Fontanella Mantovana and Bismantova. It illustrates, therefore, one of the stages of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and enables us also to establish chronological parallels with the cemeteries of the Second Siculan period as described by Orsi in Sicily.

The deposit consisted entirely of bronze objects, and was found in a large jar buried in the ground. There were 120 specimens, of which those preserved in the Museo Preistorico at Rome are as follows: ¹

(1) Thirteen of those small rayed wheels which are known to have served as the tips of head-pins. These were observed at Castel Gandolfo, and have a wide range, and distribution, beginning in the eastern *terremare* and continuing into advanced Etruscan times. They are known also in Switzerland and Hungary.

(2) Five wheel-shaped pendants of slightly varying patterns. These also have a fairly wide range in place and time. They are found outside Italy at Olympia, and Hallstatt, as well as in Bosnia, and the Swiss lake-dwellings.

(3) Ten pendants shaped like the section of a more or less wide bell, ornamented with dots and bosses in *repoussé*.

(4) Two small violin-bow fibulae with an oval disc for the body. This is a type which does not occur on any Villanovan site, but has been found in the lake-dwellings of the Lago di Garda, and some of the *terremare*, as well as in Mycenaean Greece.

(5) Three very large violin-bow fibulae with large oval central discs ornamented with *repoussé* bosses in relief, and with a little engraving. These, which are illustrated in Plate 18, nos. 3 and 5, are of the greatest possible interest as they are evidently the direct ancestors of those splendid bronze girdles which are so typical of the First Benacci period among the Villanovans. One of them has even the motive of the duck's head which so constantly appears on the girdles.

(6) A fibula with two discs, derived from the violin-bow type. This, shown in Plate 18, no. 3, is unique, and has no Villanovan connexions.

(7) Four large bow-fibulae of the type shown in Fig. 20, with knottings at intervals like the joints of a bamboo. They occur not only at Bismantova, Fontanella, and Timmari, but also in Sicily and Cyprus.

(8) A small fibula, similar to the last but without the knottings. A direct derivation from the violin-bow, this occurs at Grottoferrata, and also at Bismantova and Timmari.

¹ Illustrated in Mont., Plate 119.

(9-14) Bronze spirals, finger-rings, tweezers, pins, skewers—all of which are too common in the Iron Age to deserve any remark.

(15) A pendant shaped like a bronze axe ; this is an ornament which often appears at Bologna.

(16) A bronze axe with long and wide wings (Mont. Plate 119, no. 10), which is of a type proper to the *terremare* and common in the Danube valley. It is rare in Italy and may be pointed out as yet another link in the chain of connexions with the Transalpine and Danubian civilizations. This pattern is confined to the Bronze Age, being replaced in the Villanovan periods by more developed forms.

(17, 18) Are an oval palette and plain bronze hooks, (19) is an implement somewhat like a skewer, and (20) is the butt of some kind of wooden staff.

Nos. 21-3 are the most interesting and important objects in the whole deposit from the point of view which we are considering in this chapter. They are three very fine bowls of hammered bronze-work. One of these is shown in Plate 18, no. 1, while the other two, with the bull's head surmounting the handle, are illustrated by Plate 18, no. 2. Here then we have the immediate ancestry of the bronze bowls so frequent at Vetulonia and Corneto in the eighth century, and a proof that the craft of working in hammered bronze plates, which has often been supposed to be typically Etruscan, originates amongst the ancestors of the native Villanovans several centuries before the Etruscans appear in Italy.¹ It is a striking confirmation of the view which we put forward when discussing the bronze-work of the First and Second Benacci periods (pp. 26, 53) both north and south of the Apennines.²

On the same site of Coste del Marano which produced the hoard of bronzes was found a single tomb. It was of the same style of burial that occurs in the Benacci periods at Corneto ; that is to say a stone receptacle cut out of two blocks which are fitted together to enclose a pottery ossuary, covered with a bowl and accompanied by three small vases. That the period, however, was earlier than even the Selciatello graves at Corneto is shown by the fibula found, together with a quadrangular razor, inside the ossuary. This (Fig. 20) is a duplicate of the same elbowed and knotted fibula which occurred in the Bronze-Age hoard, a proof that the grave is only a very little later than the hoard itself.

Of practically the same date as the Tolfa grave, to judge from the fibulae, some of which are identical with Fig. 20 or immediate derivatives from it, are

¹ Similar bronze bowls have been found in Hungary, North Germany, Scandinavia, as well as in the Swiss lake-dwellings. Cf. *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxx.

² For contrary views, however, on the derivation and origin of the hammered bronze-work of the early Iron Age see the remarks of Colini in this article, *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 98-104.

the graves found in the neighbouring district of Allumiere.¹ They form three, or perhaps four, groups which Klitsche de la Grange believed to be one continuous cemetery, though Colini is not so certain upon the point. In the first, and most important group, which is called Poggio la Pozza, the graves were of two kinds viz. either pozzetti or rectangular cists composed of unworked slabs of stone set on edge. The pozzetti generally contained hollow stone receptacles like the grave at Tolfa. Occasionally there was no ossuary in the cist, which in that case never contained any objects, being obviously a mere pauper's grave. More often, however, cists, and pozzetti alike contained a pottery ossuary covered either with a bowl or with a pottery cap ending in a mushroom top (Plate 18, no. 16). The tomb-furniture was rather poor, consisting only of a fibula with an occasional head-pin or razor; the form of the razors was quadrilateral as in the Tolfa tomb.² Accessory vases in general (Plate 18, nos. 6-12) resemble those of the earliest Latian cemeteries described in the previous sections of this chapter.

It is particularly to be observed that some of the ossuaries at Poggio la Pozza belong to a type unknown in the Alban hills or at Rome;

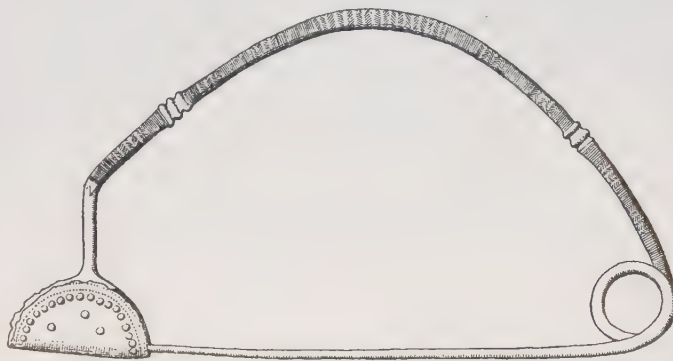


FIG. 20. Bronze fibula from Tolfa. After *Bull. Paleon. Ital.*, vol. xxxv., Plate 7. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

they are biconical jars (Plate 18, nos. 16, 18) which must be definitely classified as *Villanovan ossuaries* in the true sense of the term.³ This is the last link required to complete the chain of argument for the Villanovan origin and connexions of the Allumiere tombs. And if Allumiere is admitted to be Villanovan then there ought to be no question in regard to the Latian cemeteries of the Alban hills, and the Forum which so closely resemble them. The connecting link of Allumiere proves beyond all doubt that Modestov⁴ is wrong when he maintains that these Latians are not Villanovans. At Tolfa, Allumiere, Castel Gandolfo, Grottaferrata, and the Forum at Rome we must recognize pure Villanovans in a stage of development slightly earlier than the First Benacci period as seen at Corneto and in the Bolognese region. It is a single family with three branches, of which this is the oldest. We classify the Allumiere and Latian groups therefore as pre-Benacci,

¹ With these types there are also fibulae of different serpentine forms, two of which approach very near to the Pianello specimens shown in Plate 19, nos. 12, 14. See *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxv., Plate 8.

² One instance of a small 'cultro lunato' is mentioned in *Not. Sc.* 1884, p. 101.

³ For illustrations of the whole series of ossuaries see *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxvi, Plates 7, 8, 9.

⁴ Modestov, *Introduction à l'histoire*, p. 235.

and in view of their close chronological relationship to sites and cemeteries of the latest Bronze Age we propose to date them to the twelfth century B. C., while retaining the provisional dating of First Benacci as eleventh to tenth century B. C.

¹ The other sites in the Allumiere district need no special remark, as the two small groups of tombs found respectively at Valle del Campaccio and Contrada Forchetta di Palano only repeat the facts observed at Poggio la Pozza. At Contrada Trincere there were one or two dolio graves and

some of the pottery is of a rather later appearance. The cemetery of Poggio Umbricolo being of the inhumation rite does not enter into our scheme of treatment; it is distinctly later but interesting for its imported pottery.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 16, 17, 18

PLATE 16. ROME. *The prehistoric cemetery in the Forum.* Pottery.

- Nos. 1-6 from grave C. After *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, pp. 153-8, scale not quite $\frac{1}{2}$.
 No. 7, from grave Y. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, p. 289: scale $\frac{1}{2}$.
 No. 8, from grave S. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, p. 28; scale $\frac{1}{2}$.
 No. 9, from grave Y. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, p. 289; scale $\frac{1}{2}$.
 Nos. 10, 11, from grave A. After *Not. Sc.*, 1902, pp. 108, 109; scale $\frac{1}{4}$.
 No. 12, from grave Q. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, pp. 11, 12; scale $\frac{2}{11}$.
 No. 13, from grave Y. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, p. 290; scale $\frac{2}{11}$.
 No. 14, from grave T. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, p. 36; scale $\frac{2}{11}$.
 No. 15, from grave A. After *Not. Sc.*, 1902, p. 104; scale $\frac{2}{11}$.
 No. 16, from grave N. After *Not. Sc.*, 1905, p. 176; scale $\frac{2}{11}$.
 No. 17, from grave R. After *Not. Sc.*, 1906, p. 20; scale $\frac{2}{11}$.

PLATE 17. GROTTAFERRATA, Nos. 1-14, and CASTEL GANDOLFO, Nos. 15-23.

Nos. 1-14 are from the site of *Villa Cavalletti*, and are taken from the illustrations to *Notizie degli Scavi*, pp. 135-98; scale of nos. 1-10 is $\frac{1}{2}$, of no. 11 is $\frac{1}{6}$, of no. 12 is $\frac{1}{7}$, of no. 13 is $\frac{1}{7}$, of no. 14 is $\frac{1}{8}$. Nos. 15-19 are from the site of *Il Pascolare*, and are illustrated from the drawings in *Archaeologia*, vol. xlii; scale of nos. 15-17 is $\frac{1}{2}$, of no. 18 is $\frac{1}{8}$, of no. 19 is $\frac{3}{11}$. No. 22 is from the site of *Il Pascolare*, scale not published. No. 20, scale $\frac{1}{10}$, is from *San Sebastiano*. No. 23, scale $\frac{2}{11}$, from *San Sebastiano*. No. 21, scale $\frac{1}{8}$, from *Campo Fattore*. The last four are illustrated from Pinza's article in *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 1898, p. 96, and Plate 6.

PLATE 18. TOLFA and ALLUMIERE.

Nos. 1-5, bronze objects from the Bronze-Age hoard at *Coste del Marano*. After the illustrations to Colini's article in *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, vol. xxxv (tav. vi, viii, xi); scale $\frac{2}{7}$, except no. 3, which is a little smaller than $\frac{1}{2}$. Nos. 6-18, pottery from the graves of *Allumiere*. After the illustrations in Colini's article in *Bull. polit.*, vol. xxxvi (tav. vi, vii, x). Scale of nos. 6-12 and 15 is $\frac{2}{7}$; of nos. 13 and 14 is $\frac{1}{8}$; of nos. 16, 17, 18 is not quite $\frac{1}{2}$.

It should be observed that nos. 16, 17, 18 are ossuaries, and that no. 14 is the cover of no. 18.



ROME. The Cemetery in the Forum



Grottaferrata (Nos. 1-14) and Castel Gandolfo (Nos. 15-23)



TOLFA and ALLUMIERE. Bronze-age Hoard (1-5) and Iron-age Graves (6-18)

Who were the Ancestors of the Villanovans?

The gap between the latest Bronze Age and the earliest Iron Age in Italy is partially bridged by four sites in widely separated parts of the country. These are Timmari, down in the south-west corner of Apulia near Matera, Pianello in the Marche near Fabriano, Bismantova in the Emilia and Fontanella in the Mantuan district. Chronologically they are very nearly contemporary with one another, Timmari being a little the oldest, and they bear a great deal of general resemblance to one another as well as to Allumiere. But in spite of their resemblance it does not necessarily follow that they belong to one and the same people, for the only really strong bond of unity between them is the burial rite of cremation. This community of rite is sufficient to prove that all four sites must have been inhabited by members of the same racial family which comprises the people of the *terremare* in the Bronze Age, and the Comacines, Atestines, and Villanovans in the Iron Age. But it does not decide to which of the several groups, if any, they belong. Actually we shall see reason to hold that none of them need be at all closely related to any of the three well-defined groups of the Iron Age, though some and perhaps all of them may be directly descended from the Terramaricoli.

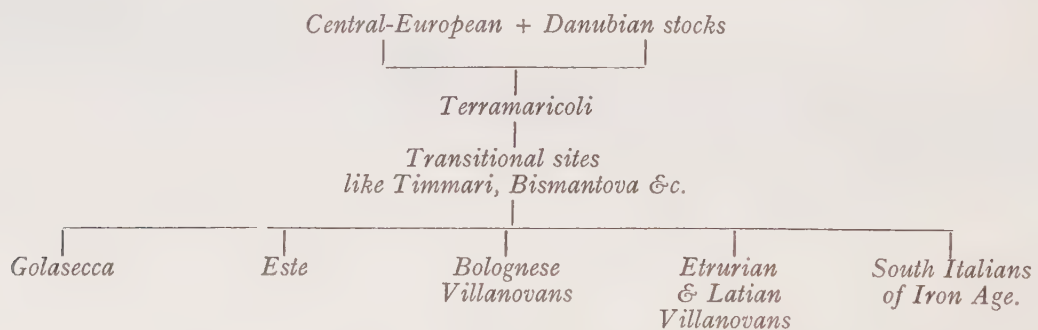
In this I differ from Pigorini, Colini, and others, who hold that the Villanovans are directly descended from the Terramaricoli and see the connecting link between the two in these four transitional sites taken together with Allumiere and the Latian cemeteries. These writers suppose all the cremating peoples to have constituted a single homogeneous population over the whole peninsula during the Bronze Age, and maintain that the various groups which we find in the Iron Age were only gradually differentiated as a result of special historical and geographical conditions¹ in each case. To me the three groups which I term respectively *Comacine*, *Atesine*, and *Villanovan* are so distinct in their culture that they must be regarded as more than local varieties. I do not suggest that their ultimate derivation is not identical; no doubt they all belong to a single ethnological family, which is fundamentally distinct at once from the inhuming people of neolithic Italy and from the orientally-derived Etruscans. And to this same family the Terramaricoli must also belong, because of the identity of their burial customs. But this is very different from maintaining that the Villanovans or any of the other nations of the Iron Age are actually descended from the Terramaricoli.

I have used the word 'nations' deliberately, although it may seem

¹ Colini in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxix, p. 21.

anachronistic, because it enables me clearly to define my position ; which is that the Terramaricoli, Comacines, Atestines, and Villanovans are really as distinct in all their outward characteristics as four separate nations derived from a common original stock in modern Europe. Granting that they have the same ancestors yet no one of the four is actually descended from any of the others ; they are related only as collaterals. Inasmuch as they show very close affinities of custom and culture to the peoples north and east of the Alps it is reasonable to suppose that they are literally and actually descended from one or more of those peoples. But they may have come into Italy at four or five different times, and certainly some of them preceded others. The first wave to descend upon Italy was composed of the builders of the *terremare*. Next in order, though some centuries later, came the Comacines on the west and the Villanovans on the east. Only after the latter had settled in their new homes came the last wave, viz. the Atestines, who occupied the country immediately north of the Villanovans, driving them perhaps into a more compact mass.¹ The earliest Villanovans did not all settle in the same part of the country. Checked and diverted in their southern course by the Picenes they turned westward over the Apennines into Etruria and their very first bands penetrated as far south as Allumiere, and the Alban hills. Etruria and the Bolognese region were next occupied simultaneously, a century or so later than Allumiere and the Latian sites.

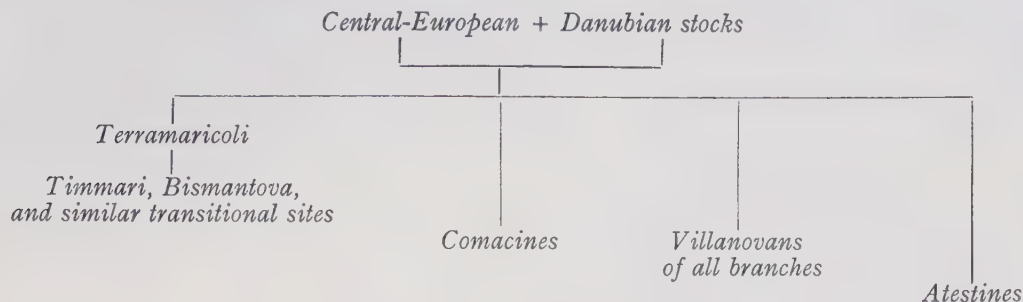
Pigorini's theory and the one which I am now advocating may be schematically represented as follows. According to Pigorini all the Iron Age groups of Italy are directly descended from the Terramaricoli. Their genealogical tree, therefore, would be as follows.



¹ In regard to the successive character of the migrations in the Bronze and Iron Ages as well as the places of their origin my theory approaches that of Modestov, cf. his *Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, p. 238. But I entirely differ with him, as the reader has seen, in regard to the people whom I term the 'Villanovans of Latium'. In

some respects my point of view is distinct from that of any previous writer, notably in making the First Atestine period distinctly later than the earliest Villanovan. As to the correct allocation of the tribal names 'Umbri' or 'Italici' I express no opinion.

According to my view the tree would be constructed quite differently, and in the schematic diagram which follows, the length of each arm would mark a different degree of antiquity—thus :



These then are the two views which must be tested and examined. It may be said at once that it is not yet possible finally to decide between them. I do not consider Pigorini's theory to be proved, but neither do I consider it to be disproved.¹ It must always be remembered and tested each time that a new discovery is made. The symmetry and consistency of the scheme render it very attractive and it is difficult not to be carried away by the charm of such expositions as Pigorini has sometimes given.² Colini's brilliant advocacy, moreover, adds much strength to a view which already carries the weight of authority derived from the support of many of the most distinguished Italian scholars of our generation. Nevertheless I still think that the alternative theory has even more to recommend it as an explanation of all the factors so far as they are at present known.

To many readers, perhaps, the points of agreement between the two views will appear more valuable and interesting than their differences. Each admits that the four cremating nations of the Iron Age in Italy were of northern origin, related to the peoples of the Danube and Central Europe. Each admits that they came into Italy by land over the Alps. And each admits that their progress was from north to south down the line of the Apennines, from which they debouched on to Etruria and Latium.

¹ Modestov's attack, *Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, pp. 296-300, does not destroy it. In fact Brizio's arguments, quoted and reinforced by Modestov, are excellent dialectic, but are rather too dialectical to be quite good archaeology. It would have been very thoughtful and considerate of the Terramaricoli if they would have left their remains in such perfect order that we could construct logical syllogisms upon their foundations. But archaeological theory must almost always be contented with imperfect material.

² e. g. *Le più antiche civiltà dell' Italia* (in *Bull.*

Pal. It., xxix, pp. 189-211) of which I wrote a *résumé* in English in *Man*, 1904, art. 27.

³ I have mentioned in Chapter II, p. 5 note 2, Grenier's theory that the Bolognese Villanovans were a fugitive tribe from Central Italy. This is disproved by the argument in Chapter III which shows that the Etruscan Villanovans are no older than the Bolognese. That the Latian Villanovans are older than either in no way supports his theory. It is impossible to make Latium an original centre of spontaneous development.

Timmari, Pianello, Bismantova, Fontanella

It will be useful at this point to review very briefly the evidence that can be derived from the four transitional sites which link the Bronze and Iron Ages. Timmari is in the district of Matera in the south-western corner of Apulia. Here Ridola found in 1900 several cremation graves composed of rough ossuaries covered with bowls, and accompanied by one or two bronze objects which proved their very early date.¹ As this was a discovery unique in Southern Italy it immediately aroused great interest, and a careful and systematic exploration was made, of which a very fully detailed account has been written by Quagliati in the *Monumenti Antichi*.² The cemetery measured 450 to 500 square metres and consisted of 244 graves, which were so poorly furnished that they contained only one or two articles of use or adornment besides the ossuary and its bowl. There is no other pottery, no weapons, no objects of any size or value. All comparative arguments, therefore, have to be founded upon the method of burial, the shape and style of the ossuaries, and the forms of the fibulae and trifling little ornaments.³

First then in regard to the style of burial, and the construction of the tombs it may be said that they could equally well be the work of the 'terramaricoli' (builders of the terremare) or of early Villanovans. For in the way that they lay out their cemeteries and deposit the cremated ashes in pottery urns covered with bowls the two peoples follow identical procedure. The urns are either laid in a round hole excavated for the purpose or in a primitive cist made by placing slabs on end, and they are often distinguished by a rough unhewn slab set up as a stela. It is in respect of the ossuaries that the real debate arises. Many of the burial urns are mere household jugs or cooking-vessels and only a few are of shapes which may have been manufactured for this particular purpose. In the illustrations of the *Monumenti Antichi* can be seen a complete series of all the types, from which those given in our Plate 19, nos. 8, 9, 10, have been selected as best exhibiting the type on which the whole discussion turns. It must be admitted that these, and for that matter all the other pottery forms from Timmari, bear a remarkably close resemblance to the ossuaries both of Pianello and of Allumiere. It is only indeed at Allumiere that the biconical jar assumes so well-defined a form that it may confidently be called Villanovan, on the other two sites there are only approximations and anticipations of it. Nevertheless if the most developed style at Allumiere is allowed to be definitely Villanovan it

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1900, p. 345.

² *Mon. Ant.*, xvi, cols. 1-166.

³ The contents of the graves are partly in

the Ridola Museum at Matera, partly in the museum at Taranto.

is perhaps unreasonable to refuse the name of 'rudimentary Villanovan' to the ossuaries of Timmari and Pianello.

From the poverty of the tomb-furniture at Timmari it is difficult to obtain other points for comparison or contrast. The razors, fibulae, head-pins,¹ finger-rings, and bone buttons are absolutely characteristic of the *terremare* but have nothing markedly Villanovan about them. So too the rudimentary scratchings on the pottery² are quite unlike the highly developed geometric art of the First Benacci, and it requires a fairly bold spirit of prophecy to assume that they will ultimately evolve into it. In short, everything about Timmari suggests that it is simply a cemetery of the Terramaricoli, very late indeed for that people, of whom there are otherwise almost no traces after the Bronze Age, but none the less quite unmistakable. Its chronological place is well fixed by the types of the fibulae, which show it to belong to a stage when the Bronze Age is first beginning to pass into the Iron. The remarkable thing is that any Terramaricoli should be found down in Apulia. But it has long been known that there is a real *terramara* at the Scoglio del Tonno near Taranto, which has been discussed and explained by Peet in his volume on the Stone and Bronze Ages.³ So that we may confidently assume that the cemetery of Timmari is the consequence of the same movement of colonization which Peet describes. Apparently the movement was quite sporadic as there is little evidence of any settlements other than these two sites.⁴ It is quite important to observe that, so far as is yet known, neither the Scoglio del Tonno nor Timmari produced any genuinely Villanovan descendants. And indeed up to the year 1923 no trace of Villanovans has ever been found south of the Alban hills.⁵ It would be dangerous to prophesy that they will never be found, but it is premature and illegitimate to base any system upon their merely potential or hypothetical existence.

This brief review of Timmari brings out that the site bears a great deal of general resemblance to the other sites of the same transitional period and that it represents the latest known phase of culture among the Terramaricoli. But it does nothing towards proving the desired affiliation of Timmari with the fully developed Villanovans.

The next of the transitional sites to be considered is Pianello, which Colini has submitted to a very long and careful analysis.⁶ Being situated in the

¹ Plate 19, nos. 1-6.

² Plate 19, no. 7.

³ Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, pp. 421-4.

⁴ As to Offida I follow Peet in reserving any positive opinion.

⁵ That there are one or two jars of Villanovan type in the Naples museum or elsewhere in

Southern Italy without any record or note of provenance and association is, of course, not to be taken seriously as evidence for anything whatsoever.

⁶ *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxix, pp. 19-68, vol. xl, pp. 121-63, vol. xli, pp. 48-70. The objects are in the museum at Ancona but some specimens have been presented to the Museo Preistorico in Rome.

Marche only ten kilometres from Fabriano it is not so far from the normal boundaries of the Villanovans as to make any connexion with them *a priori* improbable. The cemetery was discovered by Dall' Osso and covered about 600 square metres. All the burials were cremations, which is very remarkable in a Picene district where the rite of inhumation was otherwise universal, it certainly proves that the inhabitants of Pianello were strangers and foreigners from another region. Their ossuaries are of three radical types, which have been classified as cylindrical, globular or ovoid, and biconical. All three are known as types in the terremare, and the second and third continue, only refined and elaborated, during the Benacci periods. Globular ossuaries are always very popular among the Latian Villanovans, biconical ossuaries among the Etrurian and Bolognese. At Timmari the most distinctly globular forms are rare, so that in this respect as well as in the slightly more standardized forms of its biconical urns it may perhaps be claimed that Pianello has advanced a little in the direction of Villanovanism. But the advance is very slight, and in the rudimentary decorations there is still not a hint of the rich geometric style of the First Benacci period.

Judged by its pottery, therefore (Plate 19, nos. 15-18), Pianello has no distinctively Villanovan traits and might quite well be classed as a product of the latest terremare. And the same result is obtained from an examination of all the ornaments and minor objects, except perhaps the fibulae which deserve a special notice. The head-pins, bracelets, razors, could all be classed as belonging to a terramara, while a bronze torque similar to that of Bismantova is an object familiar everywhere in the lake-dwellings, but quite unknown to the Villanovans.

The fibulae are very interesting, and have been classified into four types. The first is the very archaic violin-bow known in the lake-dwellings (Plate 19, no. 11), which completely disappears before Villanovan times. The second includes no less than forty specimens; it is the round bow, which appears in three sub-types viz. the plain bow, the bow marked with bamboo-like jointings, and the bow twisted in a rope pattern. All three of these, as we have seen, are found in the earliest of the genuinely Villanovan cemeteries and mark a definite chronological stage, which is later than the ordinary terremare and only begins with the transitional sites. The association of violin-bow with bamboo-knotted round bow was observed in the hoard of Coste del Marano at Tolfa. The third class consists of serpentine-fibulae (Plate 19, no. 14) of quadrangular shape. Now the quadrangular serpentine-fibula was found at Allumiere but there it had a disc instead of a curled catch-point. At Fontanella and Bismantova, however, the Pianello form with curled catch-point is repeated, and it is interesting to recall that it occurred in the earliest First Benacci graves of Terni. It was at

Terni also that the very peculiar form with the body shaped like two pairs of spectacles was found, of which there is one instance at Pianello (Plate 19, no. 13). And yet again the fourth class of fibulae at Pianello, in which the body is formed of a succession of bronze spirals like ringlets of curls, is otherwise peculiar to Terni.¹ It is evident, therefore, that two or three of these types are definitely Picene.

Chronologically, therefore, the Pianello cemetery is a little later than Timmari, and may be said to stand about midway between that site and the Latian group of the Alban hills. But I fail to see any such strong traits of connexion as would oblige us to class it among the early Villanovan. It is true that some of the fibulae are identical with the very marked types found in the First Benacci graves at Terni, but these fibulae are most probably importations from the northern or eastern shores of the Adriatic, and are in no way hall-marks of Villanovanism. While I grant, therefore, that Pianello comes nearer than any of the other sites to supplying what Pigorini and Colini would desire as a connecting link I cannot admit that it is convincing. It is not, indeed, inconsistent with Pigorini's theory but it does admit of another explanation. As contrasted with Allumiere it lacks the two hall-marks which stamped that site as Villanovan, viz. the stone receptacle shaped to receive the burial urn, which is so characteristic of Etrurian sites in the Benacci periods, and the standardized biconical ossuary, which is not of course an indispensable adjunct of a Villanovan site but is a positive proof of its Villanovanism whenever it does occur. For the present, therefore, and until more convincing evidence can be produced, I shall prefer to regard even Pianello as a product of the latest Terramaricoli but not as the ancestor of any Villanovans.

After this it is not necessary to examine Bismantova² and Fontanella³ with any minuteness. Both places are well within the proper area of the *terremare* and far outside the well-delimited region of the Northern Villanovans. They have produced no objects which are exclusively characteristic of Villanovan culture, and though their date is doubtless later than that of the Bronze-Age *terremare* they may perfectly well be regarded as the cemeteries of Terramaricoli who had just reached the point of transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages. The ossuaries (Plate 19, nos. 24-7) are, after all, as Modestov not unjustly remarks, only a 'vague ébauche' of the standardized biconical burial-urn; the bronze torque

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1914, pp. 50, 52.

² For Bismantova see *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. i, pp. 42-7; vol. ii, pp. 242-53; vol. viii, pp. 118-39, and cf. Modestov, *Introduction* . . . , p. 293. The objects are in the museum of Reggio in Emilia.

³ For Fontanella see *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xv,

p. 191; vol. xvi, p. 50; vol. xviii, p. 53, and cf. Modestov, p. 293, together with nos. 1, 4, 6 of his Plate xxiv, nos. 1-3 of Plate xxix, and no. 1 of Plate xxx. The objects have been divided between the museums of Mantova, Milano, and Rome (pre-historic).

(Plate 19, no. 19) is wholly foreign to the Villanovan culture, and the bronze bracelet and knife (Plate 19, nos. 21, 23) are not necessarily to be associated with it.

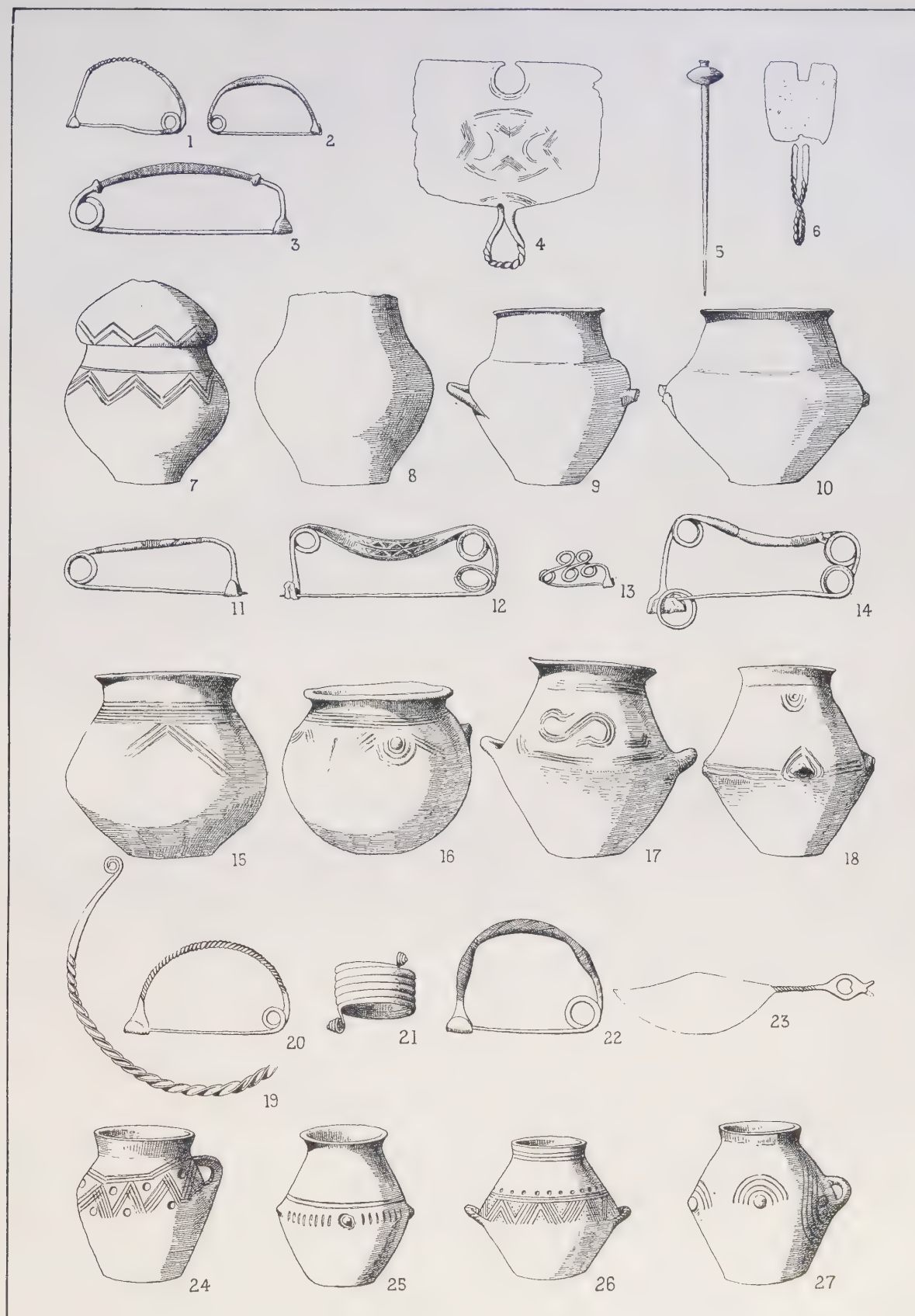
DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 19

PLATE 19. TIMMARI (nos. 1-10), PIANELLO (nos. 11-18), BISMANTOVA (nos. 19-27).

Nos. 1-10 are from the illustrations to *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xvi, cols. 5-166. Scale of 1-6 is about $\frac{1}{3}$, of no. 7 is $\frac{1}{6}$, of nos. 8-10 is $\frac{1}{9}$.

Nos. 11-18 are from *Bull. Paletnologia Italiana*, vol. 39, figs. 5, 7, and tav. 1, 2, vol. 40, tav. 5, 6. Scale of nos. 11-14 is $\frac{1}{3}$, of nos. 15-18 is $\frac{1}{9}$.

Nos. 19-27 are from *Bull. Pal. Ital.*, vol. i, tav. 2; vol. ii, tav. 8; vol. viii, tav. 6. Scale of no. 19 is $\frac{1}{4}$, of no. 20 is $\frac{5}{12}$, of no. 21 is a little over $\frac{1}{4}$, of nos. 22 and 23 is $\frac{1}{3}$, of nos. 24-7 is $\frac{1}{9}$.



Sites transitional between Bronze and Iron Age

Conclusions on the Origin and Connexion of the Villanovans

From none of these four sites then can any evidence be obtained which necessarily obliges us to accept Pigorini's theory, although each of the four could certainly be explained by it. I leave the reader to make his own choice between the two views, and can only hope that future explorations may bring more positive evidence to prove either one or the other. My own view seems to me somewhat more consistent with the geographical position of Italy which has caused her to be subject all through her history to constant periodical incursions from the north. For I am only suggesting that we should project back into the Bronze and Early Iron Ages the very same process that is known to have been going on almost unintermittently during historic times. And I suggest that this theory of several repeated invasions instead of one explains the distribution of the several culture-groups in the Early Iron Age more satisfactorily than any other which has been advanced.

Pending a definite solution of this particular problem, however, archaeologists have good reason to be satisfied with the very considerable measure of agreement which has been arrived at by almost all students whatever their school of thought. Certain general results are agreed upon by almost all, and of these the most important are :

(1) That the several cremating peoples of the Iron Age in North and Central Italy are all related by some degree of kinship as members of the same original family.

(2) That their ultimate parentage is to be traced to the same race-stocks which were then inhabiting Central Europe and a great part of the Danube region.

(3) That the progress of their settlement in Italy proceeded from north to south.

Having described the Villanovan civilization in all its three branches, ranging chronologically from the pre-Benacci period of the twelfth century B. C. in Latium, through the First and Second Benacci periods which occur both in Etruria and the Bolognese, down to the Arnoaldi which is peculiar to Bologna, we may now pass on to the Etruscans. This is a people of wholly different origin from the Villanovans having no relationship with Central Europe but very close connexions with nearer Asia and the Aegean. We shall trace the growth of their civilization from the moment when the Etruscans arrived in Italy down to about 650 B. C. when Greek art begins to assert its influence over them to the exclusion of all other foreign schools. In the next chapter we shall describe the key-site of Vetulonia where the actual transition from Villanovan to Etruscan culture can be most precisely observed.

V

VETULONIA .

THE site of Vetulonia, that famous old Etruscan city from which according to tradition Rome derived the insignia of her magistrates, the curule chair, and the fasces, the purple toga and the trumpets, was lost and forgotten for centuries. In 1881, however, Isidoro Falchi, at that time inspector of excavations for the district, discovered an immense necropolis close to the village of Colonna, which is a mile or two from the present railway station of Giuncarico and about twelve miles north of Grosseto, on the main line between Pisa and Rome. After a controversy in which local interests and ambitions played a considerable part, Falchi succeeded in convincing the proper authorities that this was the real site of the long-lost Vetulonia, and the name of that proud place was officially conferred by royal decree upon the humble village situated above 'the marshes of Castiglione della Pescaia'.

The face of the country has much changed in the period of nearly three thousand years since the Etruscans first landed in the open bay which then occupied these marshes. In Roman times the bay had become a lake, known as the 'Lacus Prelius', but even as late as 1573 there was still a narrow passage to the sea not wholly choked by the alluvial deposits of the river Bruna.¹ At what precise point these settlers chose to place their town is unknown, for no ruins have been found which date back to so early a period; but it must have been on some part of the mountain which offered such superb strategical advantages. This mountain rises on a base of 14 kilometres to a height of 345 metres above the sea-level, with precipitous cliffs on three of its four sides; only on the east is there a gradual descent to the level of the marshes. It has three principal heights, of which the most prominent is occupied by Colonna itself, a mediaeval village built on the ruins of an ancient town, which is not, however, as Falchi supposed, the actual Etruscan city. Between the chief hills are numerous ridges and depressions, with knolls, of which the most important have individual names, such as 'Poggio alla Guardia' and 'Poggio alle Birbe'. A ridge-road, actually contemporary with the most ancient cemeteries, follows the backbone of the mountain, and is marked in our plan with the significant name of 'Via dei Sepolcri'.

A short distance north-east of the modern and mediaeval village of

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 7, 8.

Colonna, now rechristened Vetulonia, the ridge-road comes to Poggio alla Guardia, a well-defined eminence which appears as F in the profile map, Plate 20. The entire top of this hill is occupied by the thickly planted pozzetti of the Villanovan cemetery, which extends also a short way to the east on to the adjacent ridge, L, of Poggio alle Birbe. This cemetery is bounded on the map by the Via dei Sepolcri, a continuation of the main path from the village, which, following the backbone of the heights, traverses successively the points marked M, N, and O, but forks at M into the Via di Sagrona so as to descend through the point Q to the level of the plain. Circles and tumuli are thick along the whole southern side of the Via dei Sepolcri and the Via di Sagrona; but no Villanovan tombs occur on this side of the town farther east than Poggio alle Birbe, though some have been found at Belvedere, a ridge diverging northwards from Poggio alla Guardia. West of the town there is a much ruined Villanovan cemetery on the hill called Baroncio or Dupiane, which has never been scientifically explored, but has yielded interesting objects; and on the same side there are numerous tumuli, though very few circle-graves. Four enormous mounds are all situated on the eastern side, at the limits of the area which includes the great majority of the circles.

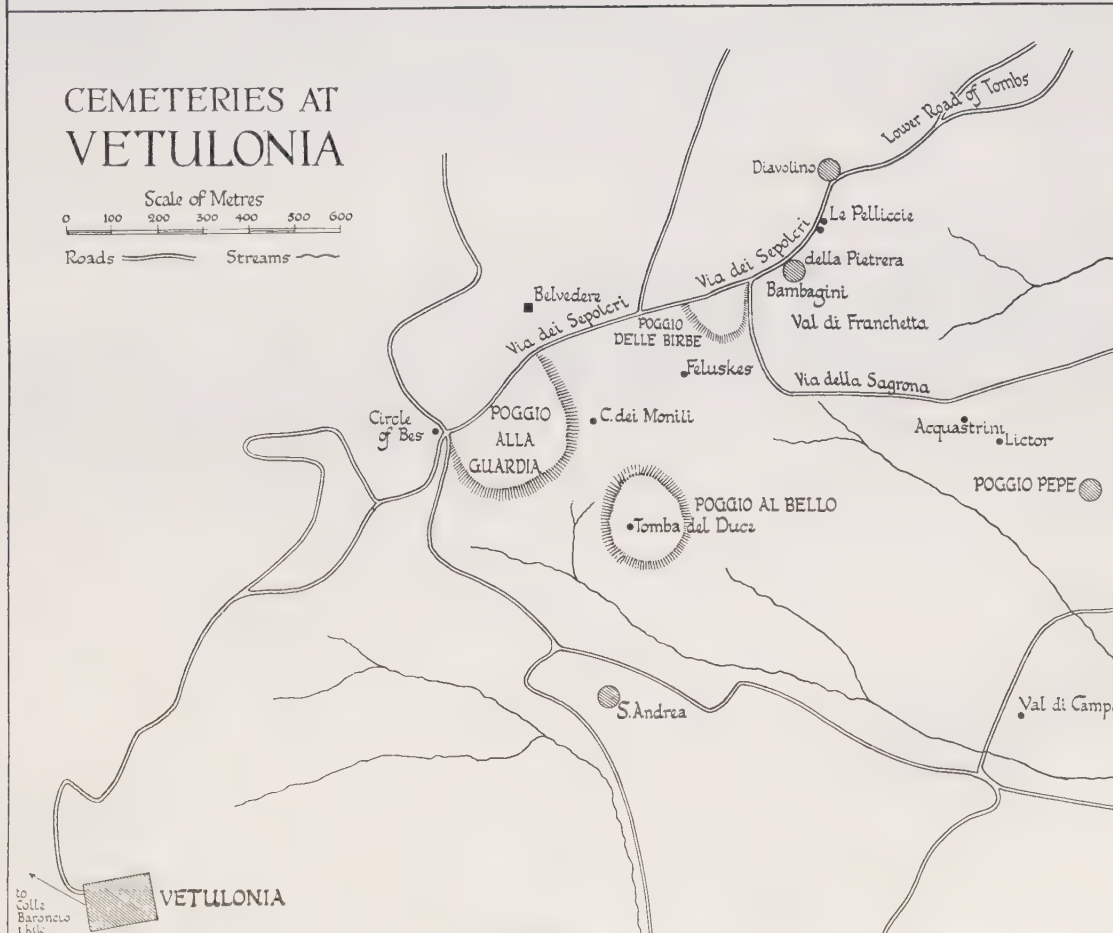
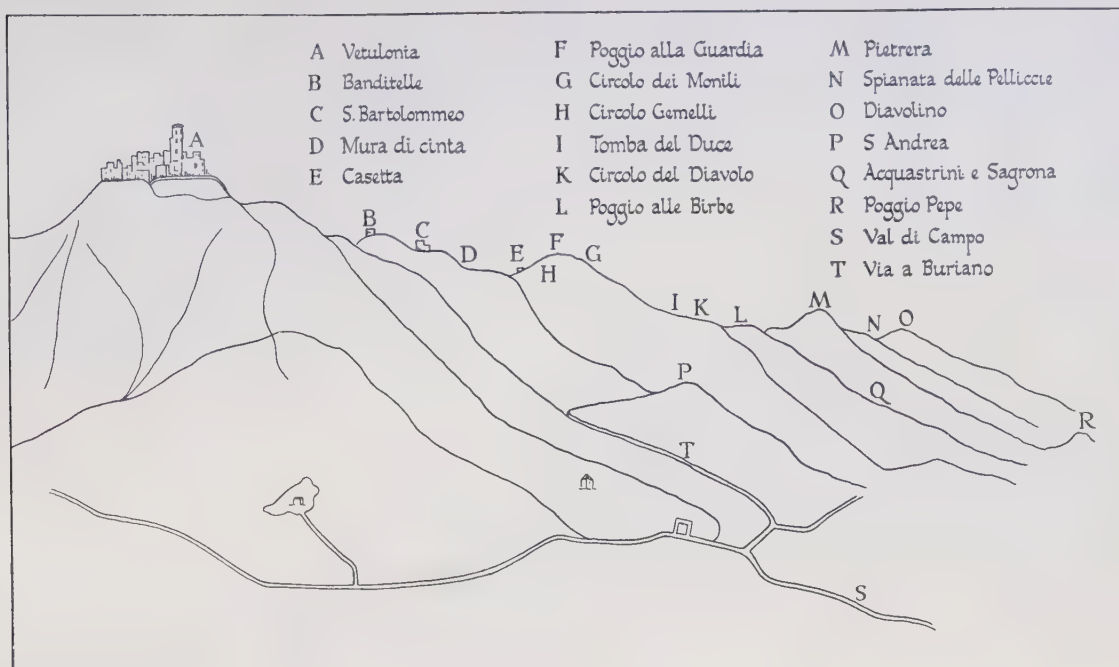
The map in Plate 20 shows the relative position of the four great mounds, the town of Vetulonia, and the Via dei Sepolcri. Within a quadrilateral of which the corners are marked by the Circle of Bes, and the three mounds called Diavolino, Pepe, and S. Andrea, are included practically all the tombs described in this chapter. Outlying regions beyond this have never been exhaustively or systematically explored, nor do the few sporadic antiquities which they have produced add anything appreciable to our knowledge of the site or our estimate of its character and antiquity. But in the long years of passionate study which Falchi devoted to his excavations there can be little doubt that he substantially exhausted all that could be usefully explored within the area thus delimited. And the peculiar value of Vetulonia for the student lies precisely in the fact that it furnishes an unbroken topographical series of which every link has been tested and the results scientifically recorded. Under these circumstances it becomes possible to deduce the chronological history of the graves not only from their contents but from their relative position and distribution. The order of their construction may, of course, have followed several lines simultaneously; it would be impossible to argue convincingly from its position that the Tomb of Feluskes was either earlier or later than the tomb of the Prince, for each is about equidistant from the original starting-point on Poggio alla Guardia, only in a different line. But it can be fairly maintained on the evidence of position alone, that

Le Pelliccie and Sagrona are later than either, and there are many similar cases in which a temperate use of the argument of relative topography may usefully counterbalance the exaggerated importance sometimes ascribed to small differences in the contents of a tomb.

No map has hitherto been published to show the complete series of tombs excavated at Vetulonia. But on the wall of the first Vetulonian room in the museum at Florence there is exhibited a map which gives all the principal features of the site as well as some of the most important graves. We have taken this as a basis and adapted it, with the aid of the descriptions and partial maps given in the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 20

PLATE 20. *Map of the cemeteries at Vetulonia.* Based on the 1 : 5,000 map in the museum at Florence, supplemented by the partial maps given in *Not. Scavi* of 1885, 1887, 1898. The profile sketch is taken from Falchi, *Vetulonia*.



Peculiar Villanovan Burials and the Earliest Foreign Deposits

The earliest burials at Vetulonia, as we have seen in the third chapter, date from the very beginning of the Villanovan era, and are found densely concentrated on the top of Poggio alla Guardia. This hill with slight extensions on to Poggio alle Birbe and Belvedere, sufficed to contain the whole series of Villanovan pozzetti of the First and Second Benacci periods. Accordingly, when we find that new types of Villanovan tombs begin to appear precisely on the fringes and outer edges of Poggio alla Guardia, their position alone would justify us in ascribing them to a pretty advanced stage of the Second Benacci. It is by this reasoning, in the first place, that we should date a very small and peculiar set of burials which occurs on the eastern edge of the hill, midway between the Circle of the Bracelets (Monili) and the Via dei Sepolcri. They are not isolated, but immediately continuous with the series of ordinary pozzetti; their peculiarity consists in the novel type of construction. For instead of standing alone, each with its individual burial independent of all others, the pozzetti are here concentrated in groups, consisting, in the only case which could be fully examined, of fifteen internments. And the still more remarkable new development is that this group is surrounded and enclosed by a ring of stones, rough indeed and unhewn, but still evidently conceived according to the same idea which expresses itself in the true Etruscan circle-tombs described in the succeeding pages of this chapter.

There were only three of these rings, and two of them were too much ruined to supply anything more than evidence corroborative of the results obtained from the third. This, the one complete example, was a ring 11 metres in diameter, formed of boulders about 1 metre long, planted perpendicularly, with intervals of about a metre between each. Within the ring, systematically aligned, were fifteen pozzetti of the normal type, just large enough to contain the cinerary urn, cut in the natural soil without any casing or sheathing of stone. In six of these pozzetti were urns of the usual Villanovan pattern, but in no less than nine the ossuary was a hut-urn. And whereas several of the burials contained nothing more important than bronze fibulae and razors or unrecognizable fragments, others were associated with objects of a quite novel and very interesting character. The latter, which occurred equally in the ordinary ossuaries and the hut-urns, comprised a scarab made of amber; a necklace of parti-coloured glass beads, a disc of gold with geometrical designs in repoussé, a bronze fibula wrapped round the top with gold wire (Fig. 21), and an iron sword of which the bronze-clad wooden sheath was engraved with

geometrical patterns and a rude hunting scene. With these were not only bronze paalstabs and bronze bracelets, but *iron* bracelets, an iron paalstab, and an iron dagger. In comparison with the pauper equipment of an average

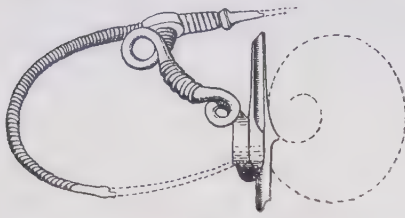


FIG. 21. Bronze fibula. After Montelius, Plate 177. Scale $\frac{3}{4}$.

pozzetto, the graves of this group must be considered to evince a degree of luxury and wealth which is no less sudden than extraordinary. They prove the existence of foreign influence and trade connexions hitherto entirely unknown to the simple Villanovans. So that not only in the style of their construction, but also in the character of their contents, the stone rings are

precisely intermediate between the native Villanovan and the newly-arrived Etruscans. The gold-bound fibula is one of the earliest stages in the evolution of that fine goldsmith's work which will presently be noted in the real circle-graves, and the amber scarab is one of the first hints of the percolation of Oriental ideas.¹

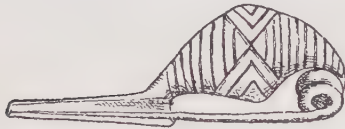


FIG. 22. Silver fibula. After *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 246. Full size.

Almost contemporary with the Villanovan pozzetti enclosed by rings of stones must be half a dozen graves which Falchi found at various points on Poggio alla Guardia, sometimes inseparably mixed with the pozzetti and sometimes quite distinct from them. In form they were cylindrical holes,

varying from 60 centimetres to 2 metres in depth and containing no ossuaries but only a stratum of black earth, which may or may not have come from a funeral pyre. The objects found in them are no less novel in character than those described in the last paragraph; they are most completely exemplified



FIG. 23. Silver clasp studded with amber. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 270. Scale $\frac{3}{4}$.

by a deposit found in 1886, which is generally quoted and referred to as the 'Foreigner's Tomb' or 'Tomb of the Foreign Woman' ('Tomba della straniera'). It consisted of four silver fibulae (Fig. 22), two silver bracelets, a silver belt-buckle studded with amber (Fig. 23), a necklace of long tubular beads of silver, and another necklace of

very delicate silver chainwork, a small silver plaque ornamented in repoussé with circles and two rows of ducks, two rings of gold wire, amber beads, parti-coloured glass beads, and two green glazed Egyptian scarabs inscribed with ornamental hieroglyphs. There is not a single object in this deposit which could be recognized as Villanovan; everything in it is either a direct

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 76-85, 111; *Not. Sc.*, 1887, pp. 513-19.

importation or the product of a local art hitherto unknown at Vetulonia. This grave carries us a step farther than the pozzetti enclosed by stone rings. The latter were definitely Villanovan, this is very early Etruscan.¹

PALAEO-ETRUSCAN TOMBS—THE CIRCLES.

From these transitional stages we pass to the Palaeo-Etruscan tombs, which occupy the remainder of the area east and south of Poggio alla Guardia. In these we find a new people with new burial customs, practising inhumation as well as that cremation which had been the rite exclusively used by the Villanovans of this region, and constructing tombs of a type hitherto unknown in Italy. The twenty-six groups which are described in detail in this chapter furnish a virtually complete record of the Palaeo-Etruscan antiquities of Vetulonia, for the one or two outlying examples which have been omitted are of small importance, and would add little detail of appreciable value. Of these twenty-six the very great majority are circle-graves, two or three are tumuli, which may or may not constitute a new type of construction, and a few are plain trenches (*fosse*) unenclosed by stones.

The circle-graves, which vary in dimensions but average about 15 to 20 metres in diameter, are systematically and well constructed of equal-sized slabs, planted vertically in the ground without any intervals between them. The slabs are of hewn stone, generally rather less than 90 centimetres high and forming only a single course. Sometimes, owing to the denudation of the soil, they were apparent on the surface of the ground, but normally they were buried at some depth below the earth, so that only the more experienced workmen were at all successful in detecting them. As they always follow the natural inclination of the hillside the interior floor is generally sloping and not horizontal. Within the area enclosed by the slabs there were always one or more trenches, oblong, not round like the pozzetti, often quite surprisingly close to the surface. Falchi says that these trenches were wholly unprotected inside by any revetment, but Montelius very plausibly suggests that they were originally lined with rough stone walls, which ultimately collapsed and crushed the tomb furniture which they were designed to protect. To this circumstance as well as to the luxuriant growth of trees and creeping roots must be ascribed the almost complete destruction of an enormous proportion of fragile objects. It must never be forgotten in estimating the art and culture of Vetulonia that rich as the collections may be which have been formed from the Palaeo-Etruscan tombs, they represent only a fraction

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 69-73; *Not. Sc.* 1887, pp. 520-2; Mont., Plate 183, figs. 1-8.

of what time and weather have destroyed. So that especially in regard to such perishable materials as bronze, iron, and pottery, the dangerous form of argument *ex silentio* must be used with great care, and due weight must be given to every record of the existence of fragments. The eight circles which will be first described are immediately contiguous to the Villanovan cemetery of Poggio alla Guardia, and may be regarded as a continuation of that burial ground. The tombs called Monili, Gemelli, Cono, and Bes are in an arc on the southern side; while Duce, Mut, Due Coni, and Diavolo form a linear series along the adjoining ridge of Poggio al Bello.

1. THE CIRCLE OF THE BRACELETS (*Circolo dei Monili*)

This circle, $9\frac{1}{2}$ metres in diameter and therefore much smaller than most of those which will be described, was situated on the east side of Poggio alla



FIG. 24. Gold fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 251. Scale—over full size.

Guardia, exactly where the Villanovan cemetery ends and actually abutting on the farthest of its graves. Within the encircling slabs of stone was found a trench 7 metres long by 1.70 metres broad and 1.80 metres deep, the floor of which was covered with black earth over a surface of 2.10 metres by 0.65 metre, under which was a still blacker layer

with remains of wood on which the various objects of the tomb furniture had left the imprint of their shapes. The trench was filled with earth and stones, the weight of which had done much damage to the contents. Over the whole surface of the black earth, which is described, probably erroneously, as the débris from a funeral pyre, was a layer of broken pieces of amber on which there lay undisturbed in their original order the following objects:

Two small gold fibulae ornamented with geometrical designs in granulated work (Fig. 24).

Four large fibulae of silver, reinforced with gold wire at the joints, of the same shape and ornamented in the same technique as those of gold just mentioned.

Four bracelets of gold filigree, very similar in appearance and general style to the example found in the Circle of Bes (Fig. 29), but rather simpler in design; they form two pairs, the larger 10 centimetres in diameter, the small just under 7 centimetres.

Four bronze fibulae and two large iron fibulae, all of the 'leech' type.

Three necklaces composed of very numerous small rings, some of bronze and some of silver, very similar to a necklace found later in the Circle of Mut (cf. Fig. 34).

A silver head-pin with spherical gold top ornamented with minute granulated work, in geometrical patterns.

Three ear-rings of plain silver wire, on each of which was threaded a scarab of green glaze inscribed with ornamental Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Numerous small carvings of human and animal figures in amber (Fig. 25), amongst which should be noted the monkey, a favourite in Etruscan art.

There were two bronze horse-bits, simple and unornamented, and some iron rings which probably formed part of the horses' harness, but all bronze and pottery objects of any size had been broken to fragments. Only one pottery vase survived, and some simple bowls.

They were of coarse, black ware, the vase of unusual form, viz. an almost spherical jug deeply fluted like a ribbed pumpkin. There were two bracelets made of the same black pottery. From the fragments it was evident that there had been several bronze vessels. One must have been of spherical form with a plain handle at each side, from which it may be inferred that it resembled the large bronze vases found later in the Tomb of the Prince and in several other graves.

There were no traces of bones nor on the other hand any proof of cremation, so that the form of burial rite must be considered uncertain.¹

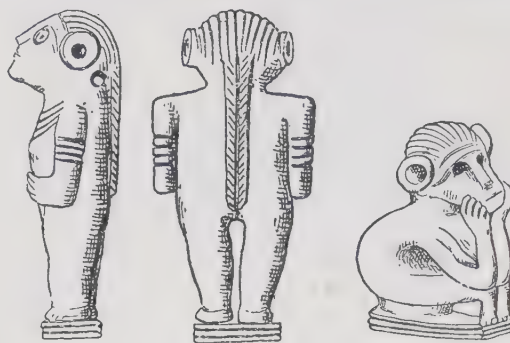


FIG. 25. Carvings in amber. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. ii, p. 92 and iii, p. 136. Full size.

2. THE TWIN CIRCLES (*Circoli Gemelli*)

At the southern end of Poggio alla Guardia, exactly where the Villanovan cemetery came to an end and in immediate contact with the last pozzetti, were found two circles even smaller than the first, being only 6 metres in diameter. They have been aptly nicknamed the 'twin circles', because at the point where they most closely approach one another they are united by an oblong slab flanked by upright stones on each side of it. On the top of this slab were fragments of bucchero, a belt-buckle (whether of bronze or iron is not clear), and an iron spear. Beneath the slab, in a hollow expressly dug for it, was a plain bronze situla like that shown in Plate 24 on the left of the lowest shelf.

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 96-102; and *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 386; Mont., Plate 182.

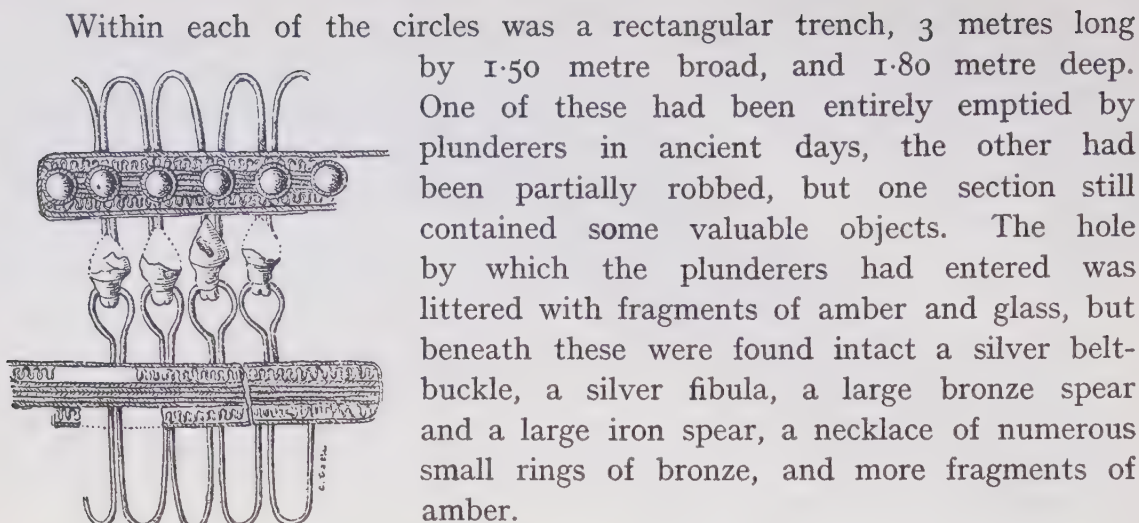


FIG. 26. Silver clasp. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 270. Full size.

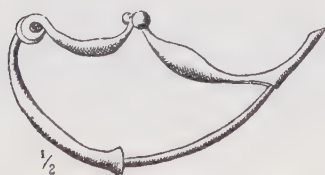


FIG. 27. Silver fibula. From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

The belt-buckle is illustrated in Fig. 26. Its rings are made of silver wire, while the upright pieces through which the wire passes are held by filigree and studs in the same style as the bracelets described in the last tomb. In the illustration these studs are shown only on one side, because on the other they had fallen out, though the traces of them can be seen.

The fibula is shown in Fig. 27. It is of the shape called 'double mignatta', which recurs again in the Acquastrini tomb (No. 21), a considerable distance away.¹

3. TOMB OF THE CONE (*Tomba del Cono*)

A little west of the Twin Circles was the tomb called that of the 'Cone', from the hemispherical stone over a metre in diameter by 0.65 metre in height which was found in it. Similar stones were found a good many times in the Palaeo-Etruscan graves at Vetulonia (cf. pp. 122, 123), and have probably some ritual significance. The grave was 6.60 metres long by 3.90 metres wide and 2 metres to 4 metres deep, and was not apparently enclosed by any circle, though it is always possible that there may have been one. In any case the contents of the grave are generically of the same kind as the contents of the circles. At the bottom was a stratum of small amber beads above which were larger pieces of amber—one carved in the shape of a frog—together with 'bulle' of iron and of bronze that may have belonged to a chariot of which

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 102-4; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 387; Mont., Plate 197, figs. 1-3.

the iron wheels were found in the filling of rubbish. Disposed in orderly fashion on the bed of amber had been a number of objects now reduced to fragments; the principal and most conspicuous of which were bronze vases, of which only one (Fig. 28) survived in a tolerable state of preservation. The handles with their horses' heads and the lid with its twin griffins deserve special observation. Of similar type were probably several other bronzes, of which only fragments remained; but a curious bronze handle with figures of horned animals standing on it, must have belonged to another and presumably larger vessel. Two bronze candelabra were of the type found in almost all of the circle tombs, but interesting for their figured tops, representing in one case a full-length human form, in the other a half-length man or woman with outstretched arms supporting several ducks. A bronze 'palette' with a handle is of unknown use. A plain gold fibula and small gold ring, a silver head-pin, a long necklace of very fine silver chain like that described in the Tomb of the Foreigner (p. 104), a bronze belt-buckle, and beads of parti-coloured glass were the only personal ornaments. Of pottery there must have been a considerable quantity, but it was so much broken that it cannot be detailed; the excavator states that it was rough bucchero of the kind familiar in all the circle-graves.¹

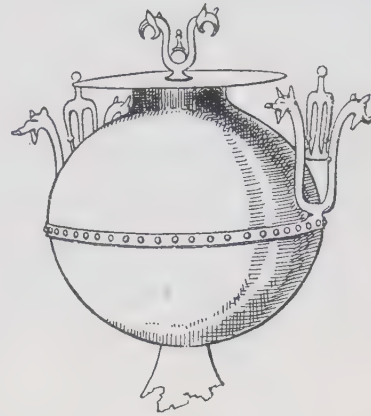


FIG. 28. Bronze vase. After *Not. Scavi*, 1895, p. 313. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

4. THE BES CIRCLE

This circle is named from a little green glazed figure of the Egyptian god Bes, which was found on the floor of the tomb together with another small green figure of no recognizable character, representing a man with his arms crossed on his breast.

The site of the tomb is a very short distance from the last, but on the west side of the apex of the hill, separated from the Villanovan pozzetti only by the width of the road. Its size and the minor details of its construction were not recorded owing to the illness of the explorer, which prevented him from attending to the last stages of the excavation. The inventory of objects was made by the overseer, on whose authority it is stated that the trench within the circle precisely resembled that within the Circle of Bracelets, and that all the tomb furniture, except part of an iron chariot-wheel and a bronze horse-bit found in the filling, was systematically arranged on the black earth of the lowest stratum.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1895, pp. 311-16; *Mont.*, Plate 180, figs. 5-14.

The number of bronze objects was considerable. A certain number undoubtedly formed part of the trappings of a horse, notably two bits ornamented with figures of horses, four small bronze discs, and a certain number of plain rings, as well as two of those long, thin points which are generally called 'spits'. Perhaps, too, it may be some part of a horse's outfit, which is represented by a curious bronze object, 11 centimetres long, resembling a little barred ladder, at each end of which are three squatting monkeys with pendent rings below them.

Several bronze vessels are represented by fragments, of which the most interesting is a cover ornamented on the surface with little concentric circles, while over the top of it runs a broad band of bronze supporting two figures



FIG. 29. Gold filigree bracelet. From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Full size.

of horses joined together in a single body like Siamese twins. A pair of bronze handles ornamented with figures of ducks in the round may have belonged to this or a similar piece. Another handle of twisted bronze is all that remains of a situla. Other fragments represent a candelabrum which had perished. A fine undamaged specimen is the bronze bowl, 11 centimetres in diameter, supported on a tripod, of which each leg turned outwards to support a small bronze horseman of rough workmanship. The personal ornaments of bronze were four plain overlapping bracelets and numerous fibulae of the 'sanguisuga' type, decorated with engraved geometrical patterns.

Gold and silver were again abundant in this tomb, the finest examples being two gold bracelets, each weighing 22 grammes, very similar to those found in the 'Circle of the Bracelets', but of rather finer and more delicate execution. They are made of filigree without any reinforcement, whereas in the examples from circle No. 1 the lines of filigree alternated with narrow bands of plain gold. In these two from the Circle of Bes (Fig. 29) a simple

waved pattern alternates with a macander pattern, and the margins between the filigree are made of fine wire twisted like string. Each of the three units which compose the whole bracelet is finished off with a repoussé boss within a rope-twisted border, and five little triangles of granulated work mark the intervals between the six-pointed star which radiates from the boss. The central of the three units is prolonged beyond the others on each side so as to form a projecting tongue; the two tongues fit into one another, and were doubtless fastened with a plain rod or pin simply dropped through the three tubular holes.

Besides the gold bracelets there were five plain gold fibulae of 'mignatta' form, and a silver fibula of the shape which occurred in the Twin Circles (Fig. 27). A silver pin plated with gold was badly damaged, but evidently resembled very closely the pin in Circle No. 1, mentioned above, on p. 107.

Of other personal ornaments the most remarkable are the carved pieces of amber, which no doubt formed one or more necklaces; the shapes of the ear-rings include scarabs and human figures. Another necklace may have been formed of the rings and tubes of twisted bronze wire which occurred sporadically. The large spherical beads of parti-coloured glass and the cylinders of glass with coloured striations in yellow and blue are identical with those found in the foreign deposits mentioned above on p. 104.

Of pottery the only recognizable pieces that survived were two bracelets made of black ware.¹

5. THE TOMB OF THE PRINCE (*Tomba del Duce*)

Perhaps the most famous, and certainly one of the most important of all the circles at Vetulonia, is that which is known as the *Tomba del Duce*. Partly, no doubt, it owes its reputation to the fact that it had almost escaped the depredations of plunderers, so that the greater part of its contents had survived comparatively intact. Many of the other tombs which have yielded very few antiquities were probably quite as rich, to judge from the evidence of the fragments and sporadic objects which have been recovered from them, nor is there any real reason to assume that the owner of this tomb was in any special sense a prince or a leader among his people. But he was undoubtedly a man of wealth and importance, representative of the luxurious and art-loving community which had recently established itself among the simple and primitive Villanovans. And because of its completeness the Tomb of the Prince affords a basis of comparison with the great treasure-finds of Caere and Preneste.

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 104-9; *Not. Sc.* 1892, pp. 388-9; Mont., Plate 181.

This circle is the central one of a group of three which stand a little south-east of those hitherto described, on a ridge called Poggio al Bello, which branches out from Poggio alla Guardia. Its diameter is 17 metres, and it contained no less than five distinct deposits buried within as many separate trenches inside the enclosure.

In *the first trench* the contents consisted entirely of the débris of a chariot and the harness or accoutrement of its horses. At only 70 centimetres below the surface the excavator came upon a large formless mass of iron, which began to crumble into pieces as soon as it was touched. Enclosing the mass there were two large broken rings of iron, 65 centimetres in diameter, studded at intervals with nails, with remains of carbonized wood still adhering. These were no doubt iron wheels with wooden spokes. From the remainder of the mass enclosed by the wheels were extricated fragments of a smooth iron plate, bent as if to fit a horse's back, two large and heavy mouth-bits, and two or three small iron discs or phalerae. Two perforated bronze discs, four large iron fibulae, several iron rings of various shapes and sizes, a quantity of iron nails, and two very small bronze cylinders, complete the list of recognizable objects.

In *the second trench*, found two metres away from the first, at a depth of 2.70 metres, the contents consisted entirely of pottery and bronze objects, the majority of the latter being contained within a huge basin of hammered bronze. This basin is 84 centimetres in diameter and 26 centimetres in depth, made out of a single sheet without joints; it had originally been circular, but was dented and bent out of shape by the pressure of stones and earth upon it. A circular shield of bronze, 84 centimetres in diameter, hammered out of a single thin sheet, strengthened on the lower side by a stout wire, covered and exactly fitted the basin. Though probably only a ritual object, or perhaps a parade shield, it was fitted with a bronze loop-handle strongly attached with nails to the inside. The design in repoussé (see Plate 22, no. 8) closely resembles that of the shield in the 'Warrior's' tomb of Corneto.

Beneath the shield was a sheet of bark laid over the objects in the basin, which lay as shown in Plate 22, no. 7, and may still be seen in exactly the same state under their glass case in the museum at Florence. Prominent in the confused heap are the fluted bronze bowls, of which there were apparently no fewer than twelve, varying in diameter from 11 to 20 centimetres. Across them lay two fine candelabra made of sheet bronze, with branches in groups of four set at intervals. A bronze flower with expanded petals crowned the top of each candelabrum, and on the four out-turned feet were nailed four cast-bronze figures of griffins (Plate 22, no. 6). Almost exactly similar to the

bowl supported by a tripod shown on the lowest shelf in Plate 21, was a three-legged bowl, which must have been violently wrenched to bring it within the limits of the crowded receptacle. The group is completed by a plain bronze dipper ('simpulum') which hung by its long handle from one branch of a candelabrum.

Outside on the top of the shield rested a bronze helmet of that shrapnel-helmet type which occurs in several circle-graves, and may be seen in the middle of Plate 24. Beaten out of a single sheet it is 0.20 metre high, with a diameter of 0.30 metre at the edge, so that it is rather more bell-shaped than the usual examples. With this also may be compared specimens from Corneto. Close beside the great bronze basin had stood several bronze vases, which were crushed into a formless mass, out of which only one could be extracted in a recognizable shape. This is the large vase with globular body on a high foot, which can be seen on the right of the middle shelf in Plate 21; it is of the same type as Fig. 28 from the Tomb of the Cone, which it closely resembles. Beside the bronze vase was the handsome fluted bowl of black bucchero pottery, evidently made in imitation of bronze, which appears on the top shelf in Plate 21, and the bowl with a lid surmounted by twin horses in Plate 22, no. 5. All the rest of the pottery was found in a mass under one side of the bronze basin. It consists of about a dozen vessels of black ware, almost all fluted. This fluting is no new feature, indeed one of the vases is the precise duplicate of a specimen found inside a hut-urn of the Villanovan cemetery. But it can be seen that the potter while not wholly emancipated from his old tradition is beginning to acquire new methods, for side by side with hand-made bowls or cups ornamented by the impression of a string or rudely-cut punch, there are wheel-made cups of fine clay. These mark the first stage in the development of Etruscan bucchero out of the age-old material of the black Mediterranean ware.¹

The third trench had, unfortunately, been emptied by plunderers; the only evidence as to its contents is furnished by fragments of black pottery and of hammered bronze.

The fourth trench was quite shallow, only 75 centimetres below the surface. The first object to appear in it was the bronze situla figured in Plate 22, no. 3, a handsome specimen decorated on the bottom with an engraved design of squares and wavy lines which is continued on to the outer edge. Inside this was a damaged bronze with spherical body of the type found in the second trench (cf. Fig. 28). A shapeless mass of bronze beside it proved to consist

¹ For a description of the technique employed in the manufacture of bucchero see a paper by D. Randall-MacIver in *Man*, for June 1921.

of a number of fluted bowls like those found in the second trench ; they rested against another spherical-bodied bronze vase, which is illustrated on the left of the middle shelf in Plate 21.

Only a few inches away from these objects was another great bronze basin, exactly like that found in the second trench, except that it had no covering shield. It was crammed to the brim with a remarkable variety of objects, the largest and most conspicuous of which were three large round-bottomed bronze buckets of surprisingly modern type with swinging handles. They were each made of two sheets of hammered bronze joined together by rivets, and were graduated in size so as to fit one inside the other ; the largest was 27 centimetres in diameter by 20 centimetres high, while the smallest was 24 centimetres in diameter by 16 centimetres high. Beneath the buckets was a shallow bronze dish, too broken to admit of exact description. Thrust into the lowest of the three buckets and protruding far outside it was a perfectly preserved bronze candelabrum, the top of which ends in a rough human figure cast in the round, the first rudimentary example of Etruscan statuary. This figure can be seen on the left of the bottom shelf in Plate 21, while a duplicate from the fifth trench is shown on the right ; the person is represented as clothed in a long garment descending to the feet, with hair falling down in a long tail behind the head. Only one other bronze could be identified among the contents of the basin, namely the lid of a censer which appears on the right of the bottom shelf in Plate 21 ; an entire censer of this shape was found later in another tomb, and is figured in Plate 24 (bottom shelf on the right).

Between the buckets and the edge of the basin was a silver cup 7 centimetres high and 9 centimetres wide at the top, which can be seen on the middle shelf of Plate 21 on the right of the inscribed bucchero. It was covered with a thin sheet of gold leaf, on which were engraved rows of winged monsters and birds. In Fig. 30 can be studied the whole design, which is a most valuable document for the history of Etruscan art and its origin. Near it was a strip of silver ribbon, 40 centimetres long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres wide, ornamented in repoussé, with a repetition of two animals, perhaps a sphinx and a lion, rather roughly executed. There had been a second silver cup without ornamentation, too much broken for reproduction. A silver jug, 25 centimetres high, has been restored since Falchi wrote his record, and can be seen at the bottom of Plate 21, to the left of the tripod.

A considerable quantity of black pottery was found in the bronze basin, of a character quite different from that which occurred in the second trench. Here there are no fluted bowls, but the skill of the new school of potters is

conspicuous in products of another kind, viz. small cups or skyphoi of the most extraordinary fineness and delicacy. One example can be seen on the left of the top shelf and another on the left of the middle shelf in Plate 21. They are as thin as porcelain, with a surface like polished ebony. The graffito decoration is a restrained and very artistic scheme of lines, zigzags, pointed leaves, and a rayed half-circle ; all apparently executed in freehand engraving with the point on the biscuit surface of the clay before it was baked. The influence of metal work is beginning quite distinctly to react upon the potter ; in two cases at least it looks as if there were a deliberate intention to replace goldsmiths' work with a less costly material. These are the two remarkable cups of which one is shown in Plate 22, no. 2, and the other in Fig. 31, with its interior ornamented with winged animals in low relief. The peculiarly



FIG. 30. Figures engraved on silver cup. From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

polished appearance of the surface has suggested that the figures may have been covered with gold leaf, a theory for which there is no direct evidence, but which is certainly not inconsistent with the practice of the Etruscan craftsman.

The second of the two cups (Fig. 31) is remarkable for quite another reason than the technique of its pottery fabric. It is an epigraphical document of the greatest value and importance, for round the base of the conical foot there has been cut in the dry clay after manufacture an inscription of forty-six letters in the Etruscan alphabet. This and the inscription on the stela of Aules Feluskes (see below, Fig. 36) are the earliest known examples of writing in Etruscan. The cup measures 24 centimetres in total height, including the handle ; it appears in Plate 21 in the centre of the middle shelf.

Outside the bronze receptacle in this fourth trench there were numerous fragments of coarse, black ware and a few intact specimens. Two of these were simple bowls and six were chalices standing on a high and slender foot.

Three others were large bowls with broad ribbon-handles, of the type represented by the specimen from the second trench, which appears on the top shelf in Plate 21; they were decorated in the primitive style, with stamped circles, stars, and lines.

Together with the coarse and fine bucchero, which were doubtless of local manufacture, were several wheel-made vases of yellow clay, ornamented with numerous thin bands of red. They are quite certainly importations, and belong to that class of early geometric painted ware, the origin and provenance of which have been so much debated. The occurrence of this class of pottery on other sites has been already noted, and there will be occasion to review the whole question in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to record the mere fact that geometrically painted vases appear in the Tomb of the Prince.

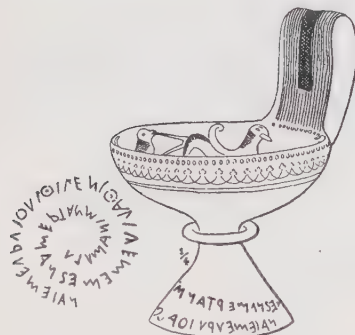


FIG. 31. Inscribed bucchero cup. From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

A good example is the small two-handled cup on the extreme right of the middle shelf in Plate 21; the tall jug on the extreme right of the top shelf in Plate 21 is made of the same ware without any ornamentation. There must have been a considerable number of weapons buried in the fourth trench, but being of iron they had almost all become shapeless fragments. The only bronze weapon was a spear-head, 0.39 metre long, of a common pattern. Another very long spear-head had been of iron, and with it were found the remains of two much oxidized iron swords. One of these had

apparently an iron sheath and bronze hilt, the other an ivory sheath and ivory hilt. There were also two short iron paalstabs, and two of the familiar spits of iron.

The fifth trench. The area within the circle had been almost completely worked over when suddenly at a point about two metres from the fourth trench and only 52 centimetres below the surface of the ground appeared the top of a metal ossuary surrounded by bronze vessels and ornaments. Within it, wrapped in fine linen which is now yellow but may once have been purple, lay the burned bones of the unnamed noble or chieftain, a man of powerful physique, who had died at the age of something over fifty. The ossuary was an oblong chest of bronze sheathed in silver, measuring 0.68 metre in length by 0.25 metre in width and 0.41 metre high. A conjectural restoration of it as drawn for the official publication is reproduced in Plate 22, no. 4, and shows it with a sloping top which overhangs at the sides and ends. But the chest was so crushed that it has never been possible to reconstitute it, so that

to this day it is exhibited in the museum at Florence in the form of the shapeless wreck which Falchi transported untouched from the tomb. Consequently it is somewhat hazardous to describe it as a 'quadrangular hut-urn', or as the 'miniature model of a temple', even though models of the kind have been found on other Etruscan sites. But the technique of the construction and the detail of the ornamentation have been so carefully studied that it is possible to make some definite statements about them. It is evident, for instance, that the chest was made of a single sheet of hammered bronze folded into an oblong around four uprights of hammered bronze, which were produced below so as to form a rectangular foot under each corner. On this body of bronze was hammered a sheet of silver gorgeously and elaborately decorated with designs in repoussé (Fig. 32). Although damaged and imperfect the principal elements of the scheme can be seen clearly; on the front there are several zones of winged animals among palmettos, while the gable end



FIG. 32. Repoussé design in silver. From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

is filled by two ducks facing one another across a leafy plant. The back and cover have fallen in, so that only fragments of the designs upon them can be studied; on the legs there are one or more human figures, together with rampant animals. Both the conception and the execution of the work are amazing for the period to which they must be presumed to belong. Only a few score yards away from the pit graves with their primitive and rude civilization we see in the Tomb of the Prince the finished products of a long-matured artistic genius. Such an object as this ossuary was certainly not imported, but may be regarded as a typical expression of that local art which had suddenly sprung into existence at Vetulonia a little after 800 B. C.

In the group of objects surrounding the ossuary the most conspicuous were bronze vessels, of which the majority, as usual, had been smashed to fragments. Many of the pieces belonged to a large oval receptacle, others to about seven fluted bowls without handles. Two tubular pieces about 12 centimetres long were evidently the handles of hemispherical dippers, much

like modern saucepans. The tripod, 40 centimetres high, visible in the middle of the lowest shelf in Plate 21, resembles the tripod found in the second trench ; it consists of three legs of plain ribbon bronze attached by bronze rivets to a bowl of hammered bronze. A candelabrum surmounted by a figurine in bronze (Plate 21, lowest right-hand corner) is an exact duplicate of the specimen found in the second trench. Shallow saucers in red ware, an iron paalstab, and a bronze torch-holder complete the list of minor objects.

The only personal ornaments were two silver fibulae, perhaps used to fasten the purple linen cloth, the form of which it is important to observe (Fig. 33) for comparison with the fibulae in the Bernardini tomb of Praeneste.

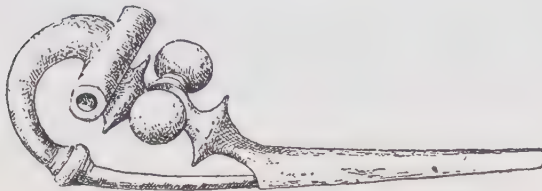


FIG. 33. Silver fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 244. Scale $\frac{7}{10}$.

Finally, there must be mentioned a curious object of which the front part is shown in Plate 22, no. 1. This is the model of a boat made of cast

bronze with numerous little figures of cast bronze round the gunwale. In the present state of the corroded metal it is not easy to identify the animals and objects, but Falchi has left an interesting description of them. The most enigmatic object is the pillar, which may perhaps represent a shrine ; a rat is feeding near it and another rat is gnawing the cords which seem to attach the stag's head to the bow. Farther down can be recognized a curly-tailed dog, a pair of oxen united by a yoke, pigs, a goat, and a sheep. Almost all are provided with baskets or other receptacles, out of which they are feeding. Similar models have been found in several parts of Italy as well as in Sardinia ;¹ and plain boats, without any cargo or passengers, occur in several of the Vetulonian tombs. It is generally supposed that the smaller of these, at any rate, were used as lamps.²

¹ For references see *Not. Sc.*, 1887, p. 503.

² Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 109-52 ; *Not. Sc.* 1887, pp. 474-506 ; *Mont.*, Plates 184-8.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 21, 22

PLATE 21. VETULONIA. *Tomba del Duce*. Original photograph taken in the museum at Florence, showing some of the principal objects grouped in a case.

Top shelf from left to right: small cup of the finest black bucchero, large two-handled vase of black bucchero, jug of plain yellow ware.

Middle shelf: two spherical vases of hammered bronze, and between them the bucchero cup with Etruscan inscription. Of the three small cups the one on the left is of the finest black bucchero, the one on the right of the inscribed cup is silver, and the farthest to the right is yellow ware painted with thin red bands.

Lowest shelf: in centre a bronze tripod, to left of this a plain silver jug; to right of the tripod is the lid of a bronze censer with lotus-top and jointed swinging handle. Also the figures on the tops of a pair of bronze candelabra.

PLATE 22. VETULONIA. *Tomba del Duce*.

No. 1. Front part of a bronze model boat, from Milani, *Studi e materiali*, vol. ii, fig. 274. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

No. 2. Black bucchero cup. From Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plate 187. Scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 3. Bronze situla. From Montelius, op. cit., Plate 186. Scale $\frac{1}{14}$.

No. 4. Conjectural restoration of the silver-sheathed ossuary. From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Scale $\frac{1}{26}$.

No. 5. Bucchero vase. From Montelius, op. cit., Plate 185. Scale $\frac{1}{6}$.

No. 6. Bronze candelabrum. From Falchi, op. cit. Scale $\frac{1}{14}$.

No. 7. Bronze cauldron with its contents as it was found. From Falchi, op. cit. Scale $\frac{1}{12}$.

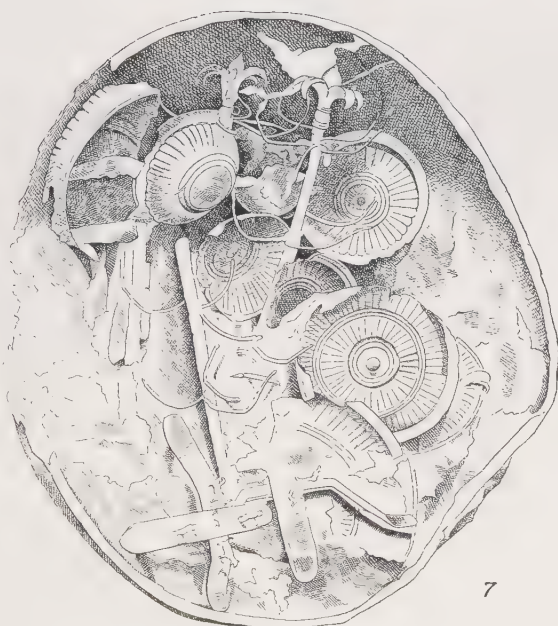
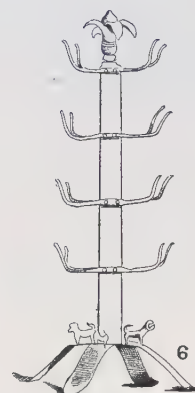
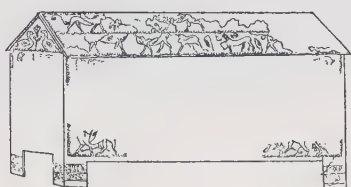
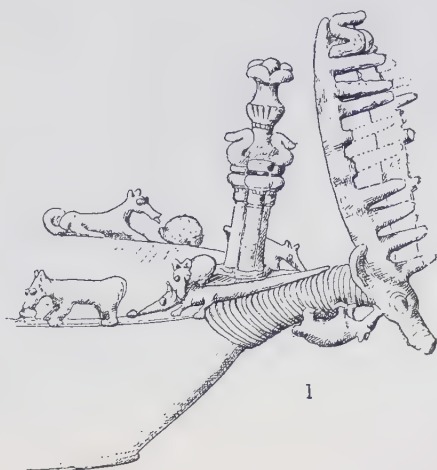
No. 8. Fragments of the bronze shield which had covered the cauldron. From Montelius, op. cit., Plate 185. Scale $\frac{1}{11}$.



VETULONIA. Tomba del Duce



VETULONIA. Tomba del Duce



VETULONIA. Tomba del Duce or Tomb of the Prince

6. THE MUT CIRCLE

Poggio al Bello, the minor ridge on which the Tomb of the Prince was situated, is so narrow at the top that the highest point was entirely occupied by that tomb. Consequently the Circle of Mut, 16 metres in diameter, which immediately adjoined it on the south, was placed in a much less attractive position on the downhill slope. This is very important evidence for the relative dating of the two tombs. They are only 2 metres apart, and obviously cannot belong, in spite of Montelius's classification, to widely different periods, but must be almost contemporary with one another. Nevertheless, whatever slight difference of time there may be between them, the Tomb of the Prince must almost necessarily have been constructed before the other. It is scarcely imaginable that any one would have selected the unfavourable downhill site so long as the top of the hill remained free and unoccupied.

The finding of a horse-bit only just below the surface prepared the excavator for disappointment, and in fact it soon appeared that the circle had been almost completely plundered. A few objects which

remained in the first of the three trenches deserve only the briefest mention; they are three bronze paalstabs, two of which are ornamented with small incised circles, four horizontal handles evidently surviving from one or more large bronze vessels, eight bronze fibulae, and one very large spherical bead of almost clear glass. With these there were the oxidized remains of a fine iron sword, in an ivory sheath engraved with horizontal lines.

In the second trench remained nothing but a few fragments of black bucchero.

The third trench, which was near the edge of the circle where it most closely approaches the Tomb of the Prince, was unplundered. It contained only four objects. First there was a spiral gold ear-ring made of three plain circles of gold wire precisely like the ear-rings found in place on the head of a Canopic vase at Chiusi (see below, p. 234). Next there was a small bronze plaque with a large ring on one side and three small rings on the other, possibly some portion of harness or of a belt. Third came a heavy bronze necklace (Fig. 34) composed of numerous strands of small rings, each strand ending



FIG. 34. Bronze necklace. From Montelius, Plate 189. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

in a flask-shaped pendant. There are exact analogies for this, not only in a necklace from the Warrior's Tomb at Corneto, but also in the necklace of bronze and silver rings found in the Circle of Bracelets (cf. above, p. 106).

Lastly, this trench contained the most important object in the tomb, from which it has received its name. This is a green glazed figure of Egyptian faience, six centimetres in height, representing the goddess Mut wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. She is seated on a throne, and is in the act of suckling her infant son. On the back is a brief hieroglyphic inscription of five signs giving the name of the goddess.

Neither bones nor cremated remains were found, so that it is impossible to say what was the burial rite in this case.¹

7. CIRCLE OF THE TWO CONES (*Circolo dei due Coni*)

Another circle almost abutted on the Tomb of the Prince, but on the opposite side to that occupied by the Circle of Mut. This was the Circle of the two Cones, which began only 2 metres north of the Prince's Tomb, and was superficially attached to it by large slabs of stone forming a corridor or cenotaph 2 metres long by 0.78 metre wide (cf. above, p. 107, the 'Twin Circles'). The corridor, if it should be so called, was roofed with a single huge slab, and proved to be completely empty, although there were no signs that it had been opened. Inside the circle itself the rock had been excavated so as to form a cavity, 1.90 metres to 2.60 metres in depth over the whole surface. Except for one corner, however, in which there were found parts of two iron chariot-wheels, four iron bits, and some fragments of plain bucchero cups, the whole cavity was empty, except for a dangerously poised mass of loose stones. On the top of this mass were two large and very heavy cones or hemispheres made of a peculiar granite which is known only at a place called Sassofortino, 18 miles away. They must have been specially brought from that distant spot, and it is hard to see the motive. Perhaps they may have served some special ritual purpose; or again, the whole circle of the Two Cones may have been constructed as a blind chamber, intended to mislead and discourage any plunderers who might wish to attack the famous grave beside it. Similar stones were found in several of the Vetulonian graves, one instance has been already recorded (Circle no. 3, p. 108), and others will be noted later.²

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 152-6; *Not. Sc.* 1887, pp. 506-9; Mont., Plate 189, figs. 1-6.

² Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 156-8; *Not. Sc.* 1887, p. 509.

8. THE DEVIL'S CIRCLE (*Circolo del Diavolo*)

At distances of 70 and 80 metres respectively from the south side of the Prince's Tomb were two large circles which must once have contained rich and important graves though they had been so thoroughly plundered as to yield little of value. From the first there came nothing except a few fragments, including the usual iron chariot-wheels, together with unrecognizable débris of bronze vessels and of pottery. It is symptomatic of the changed economy of the period when these graves were plundered that large pieces of iron were not worth carrying away.

In the second circle there was an enormous trench which the astonished workmen named the Devil's Hole; from this the circle itself was baptized with the same name. The area occupied by this trench measured no less than 6 metres in length by 5 metres in width, with a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres. In it were two of those heavy conical blocks of granite which were described in the Circle of the Cones. These had evidently been moved from their original position, and the entire trench was completely disordered. At the bottom was the usual stratum of black wood and black earth covered with innumerable fragments of amber and pottery, while the regulation chariot-wheels of iron were duly noted in the filling. Originally there must have been a very large cache of bronze vessels, as the excavator found numerous handles of perished situlae besides the handles of more shapely vases of hammered bronze. It may be surmised that the latter resembled the bronzes found in the Prince's grave; the only surviving example is an exact duplicate of Plate 22, no. 3. There had been also a great basin like the basin covered with the shield in the Prince's tomb.

Two bronze candelabra were recognized and two bronze greaves of the same type as those which are shown in Plate 25, no. 7. Three paalstabs and two spears (it is not specified of what metal) showed that there had been a deposit of weapons; while scattered pieces of gold leaf suggest that there may have been far more precious objects which fell into the hands of the thieves. In short the ruin which this circle had suffered must not blind us to its original importance; the dimensions of the grave and the character of the few objects remaining in the deposit suggest that it must have been fully as important as the Prince's tomb itself.

The *Circolo del Diavolo* stood in the last level patch of ground on Poggio al Bello, just above the ravine which separates it from the tumulus of S. Andrea (cf. map, plate 20). It is therefore the most distant and presumably the latest in

the series of eight circles which begins in immediate contact with the Villanovan cemetery and extends over the adjoining ridge to the south.¹

We have now to consider another series which starts on the north-eastern edge of the Villanovan cemetery and continues roughly parallel to the Via dei Sepolcri as far as the great mound called 'del Diavolino'. The order of relative antiquity in this series may to some extent be deduced from the position of the individual circles; that is to say the most western, as lying nearer to the original cemetery, were probably constructed before the most eastern. And the entire series, which comprises nos. 9 to 17, may be presumed by this reasoning to antedate the more distant outlying tombs numbered 18 to 24 in our account.

9. CIRCLE OF THE OLEASTERS (*Circolo degli Ulivastri*)

Between Poggio alle Birbe and Poggio al Bello, on a low ridge called 'degli Ulivastri', were three circles, each about 16 metres in diameter, of which two had been completely robbed. The third, although not intact, contained

several objects of interest buried with the uncremated bones of a human skeleton. This is a point which should be carefully observed, as it is the first quite indubitable instance of inhumation in these particular Vetulonian graves, though others will be recorded later.² Of bronze there were a 'shrapnel-helmet' like that figured in Plate 24, parts of a round-bodied vase presumably like Fig. 28, a knife, a chisel, and a horse-bit. Of iron there were a spear-head and two axes (Fig. 35 a). The pottery consisted



FIG. 35. Iron axe and reticulated pot. From Montelius, Plate 195. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$.

of a quantity of black bucchero, almost all reduced to fragments, most of which resembled the fluted bowls found in the Tomb of the Prince. A unique example of black pottery, reminiscent of an earlier style, is illustrated in Fig. 35 b; it is decorated with reticulations and with a curious cruciform design.

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, p. 159; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 391.

² It is beyond all question that both rites were practised by the Etruscans of Vetulonia. Leaving aside all doubtful cases it is certain

that in the tombs here mentioned as 5, 15, 23 the bones were cremated and that in 9, 14, 17, 18, 22, 24 they were buried unburned. But the Villanovans at Vetulonia used only cremation.

The most important objects were the personal ornaments. These consisted of two bronze fibulae of type similar to Fig. 49 (but with narrower catch-point), and a silver overlapping bracelet finished with gold wire at the ends in the style of one found in the Foreigner's Tomb.¹

10. CIRCLE OF AULES FELUSKES (*Tomba del Guerriero*)

A little north of the last was a circle enclosing a tomb which had been completely rifled but still contained a stone stele that had presumably stood above it. The stele, 1 metre high by 50 centimetres wide, is rudely incised with the figure of a warrior wearing a helmet and armed with a double-headed axe and round shield (Fig. 36). Round the margin runs an inscription in Etruscan letters, which gives a name read as Aules Feluskes. No other objects of any kind were found with this stone, which is the earliest inscribed monument in the Etruscan language. It is worth remarking that an iron axe of precisely this form was found in an excavation made in the great mound of Poggio Pepe.²



FIG. 36. Stele inscribed with an Etruscan name. After *Not. Scavi*, 1895, p. 305. Scale $\frac{1}{16}$.

11. CIRCLE OF THE TRIDENT (*Circolo del Tridente*)

North-east of the tomb of Aules Feluskes, on a hill called Costiaccia Bambagini, stood a group of eight circles, one of which, the 'Circle of the Trident', proved to be of very great interest. It measured 17 metres in diameter, and contained three distinct trenches, of which the first was so much flooded with water that it could not be thoroughly examined. Three small figurines of bronze, two bronze rings, two iron rings, and a few fragments of delicate black bucchero were all that could be recovered from the first trench.

The third trench contained only small articles of personal adornment, a bronze axe precisely similar to Fig. 38, and the perforated bronze handle of some vase. The ornaments were a green glazed figure of Bes, a number of small carvings in amber like those in the Circle of Bracelets (cf. p. 107), some

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 197-8; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 402; Mont., Plate 195, figs. 1-12.

² *Not. Sc.* 1895, pp. 304-6.

perforated cylinders of glass from a necklace, and bracelets, fibulae, rings and studs, of gold and silver.

The bracelets, four in number, were spirals of silver wire plated with gold; the four rings were of gold and small; the studs were of gold, four large and four small. There were two fibulae of silver studded with two gold bosses each and bound at the top with gold wire; one plain gold fibula of 'mignatta' type,¹ and another gold one of the same shape ornamented with a granulated design.

It was in the second trench, measuring 4 metres in length by $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres in width and rather less than 2 metres deep, that the numerous objects were found which are illustrated in Plate 23, and which we shall now proceed to describe. Among the stones which filled the upper part of the trench were two bronze chisels, a bronze gouge, and two chariot-wheels. With these were

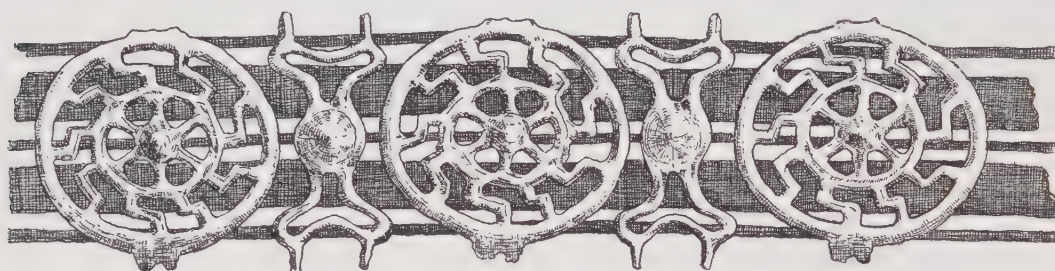


FIG. 37. Bronze harness for a horse. After *Not. Scavi*, 1908, p. 424. No scale stated.

seventy-two perforated bronze discs and fifty-three pairs of small bronze pendants, which must have formed part of the trappings or harness of the horses. A small strip (Fig. 37) which was found intact shows the way in which the discs were adjusted; they were attached to bronze wires and ribbons so as to form a narrow band in which each disc is separated from the next by an upright spacer of the same diameter. Horse-trappings figure very prominently in Plate 23, for, besides the pendants which are so conspicuous in the middle of the case, and the strings of discs which fill a large part of the upper section, we must no doubt assign to the same category the linked bronze rings that hang from the middle shelf and the bronze loops with ring-tops that rest on the lowest shelf but one. A number of small and large bronze rings which can be seen on the lowest shelf were also probably used on the harness and reins. Two bronze horse-bits and two spits complete the set.

Except for these few parts of the chariot and horse gear which were found in the filling, the entire deposit of funeral furniture in the second trench was arranged in an orderly series upon a bed of small pieces of amber, which in

¹ The word 'mignatta' like 'sanguisuga' means 'leech', generally a rather swollen leech. The excuse for retaining a few such words of

excavators' jargon in the text is that it avoids all ambiguity, especially for readers who are not English.

turn rested on the remains of a wooden tray or coffin. There must have been not less than sixteen bronze vessels, some plain and others ornamented in repoussé, without counting several 'secchie' or pails. All of these, however, were so much battered that they could not be exhibited or illustrated, so that the only examples that can be studied are the dish shown at the top of Plate 23 on the left, the full-bodied vase at the top of Plate 23 on the right, and the tripod on the bottom shelf to the right. Two plain candelabra can be seen on the lowest shelf.

Pottery had suffered no less severely than bronze; the only ware of which any traces were found was black bucchero, and of this only three specimens survived. One is a plain bowl with curved handle ending in a spatula (on right of the bronze vase on right shelf); another is a handled cup with very deeply fluted sides; and the third is a remarkable jug with perforated loop-handle, decorated on the body with moulded circles; both these last are visible on the middle shelf to the right of the bronze axes. Of the bronze axes themselves one comes from this trench and the other from the third trench; the type is sufficiently important to deserve a separate illustration (Fig. 38). Between the two bronze axes on the middle shelf is a plain silver bowl.

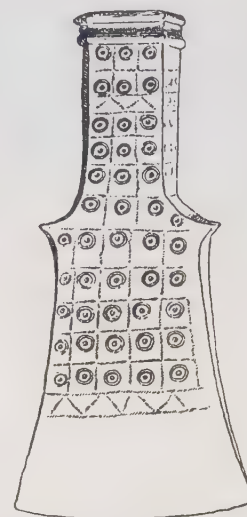


FIG. 38. Bronze axe.
After *Not. Scavi*, 1908,
p. 430. No scale stated.

On the left of the top section and on the lowest shelf in Plate 23 can be seen some of a great series of thirty-nine bronze fibulae, many of which were found fastened together just as they are shown in the illustration; they are uncommonly large, but not otherwise especially interesting. On the left of the picture also can just be seen a few of the hoard of ninety bronze armlets, which are all of the same general model, with overlapping ends, but vary considerably in total length, the overlaps being everything from 5 centimetres to 15 centimetres. There is a considerable variety of style amongst them, for some are plain except for an engraving of simple lines near the ends, while others are engraved all over with triangles, and a distinct type is formed by a certain number which are not smooth but corrugated, as if made of twisted wire.

Other objects are the spherical amber beads, of which two strings are shown hanging from a shelf on the left of the case; some little spirals of thin gold wire which do not appear; and a fragment of ivory finely carved with part of the body of a lion.

The unique object from which the tomb is named is shown stretching diagonally all across the case. It is a three-pronged fork of which the central

prong is longer than the two others ; the fork and its socket are of cast bronze, while the handle, now restored to its original length, was of wood, of which



FIG. 39. Procession on a vase from Crete.
From *Studi e materiali*, vol. iii, p. 84.

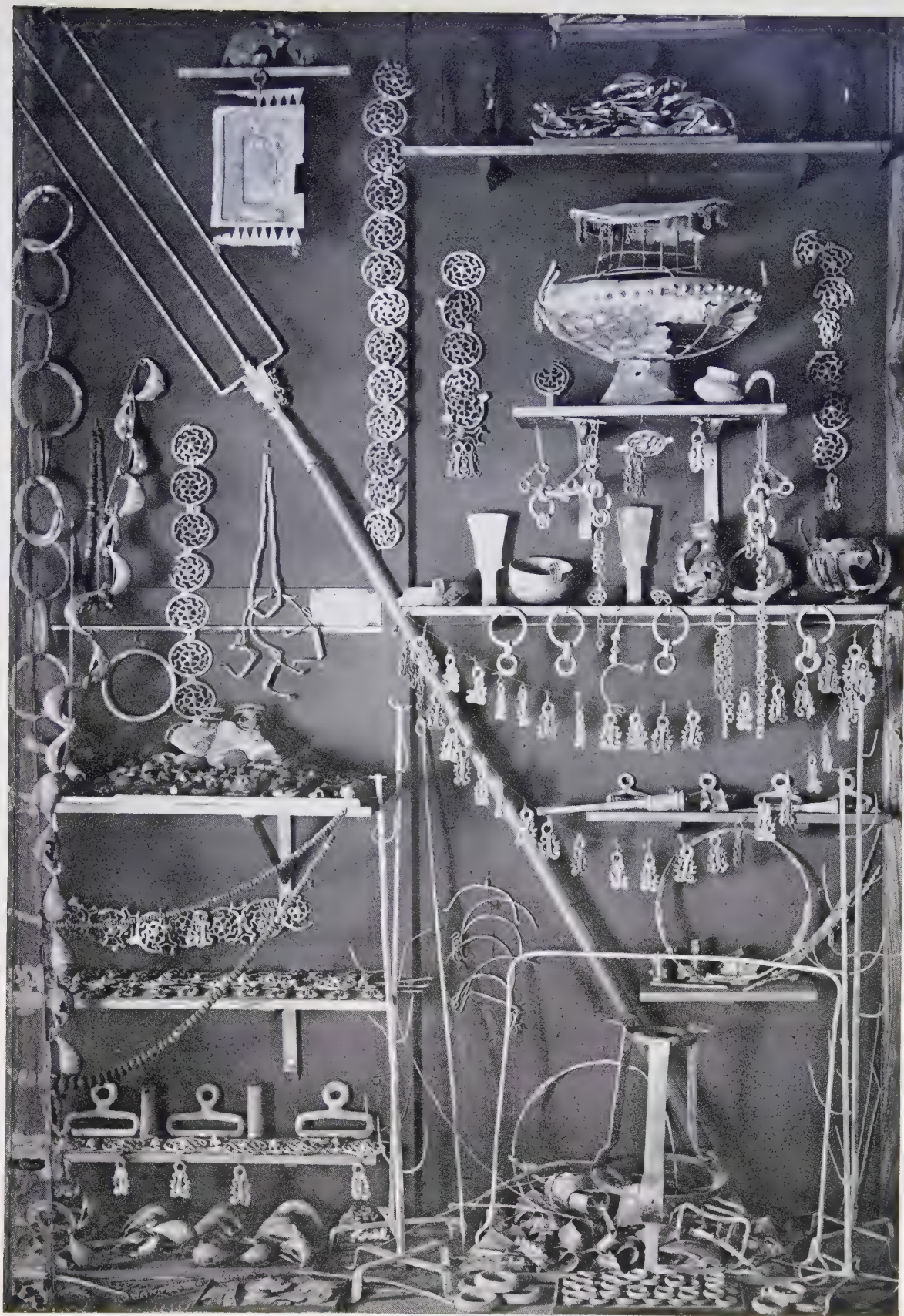
a considerable fragment remained. From the tip of the central prong to the base of the socket the bronze measures 0·72 metre, and the total length of the whole implement is estimated at about 2 metres. Milani has very well pointed out that there is an exact parallel to the Vetulonian 'trident' in the ritual implements carried by the men in the procession depicted on a steatite vase discovered at Hagia Triada in Crete (Fig. 39). This vase was published by Savignoni in *Monumenti Antichi*, 1903, p. 83, and the procession has been variously explained as

connected with the rites of Priapus or those of Demeter (cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 249).¹ The 'trident' was probably an implement for winnowing.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1908, pp. 420-37 ; *Mont.*, cols. 870-3.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 23

PLATE 23. VETULONIA. *Circle of the Trident*. Original photograph of the contents of a case in the museum at Florence. Diagonally across the whole picture stands the 'trident', a three-pronged bronze implement, of which the central prong is longer than the others, with a long wooden handle. At the top of the plate on the left is a bronze dish, and on the right a full-bodied bronze vase. On the middle shelf are a fluted cup of black bucchero and a jug of the same ware, to the left of which are two bronze axes with a plain silver bowl between them. A series of large bronze fibulae or fibbiae and part of a series of 90 bronze armlets appear in the picture, as well as a great variety of bronze discs, pendants, and rings, forming part of a horse's harness. At the bottom can be seen two plain bronze candelabra.



VETULONIA. Circle of the Trident

12. CIRCLE OF THE THRESHING-FLOOR (*Aia Bambagini*)

Only one of the seven circles which were grouped with that of the Trident on Bambagini contained any objects of appreciable interest. This was a few metres from the Trident, and the history of its exploration is somewhat involved, as it begins with the chance finds made by a farmer engaged in ploughing. The plough turned up portions of two or three bronze vases like those found in the Prince's Tomb, and with them a pair of curious bronze figurines. These may have formed the top of a candelabrum of which fragments were found at the same time; they represent a male and a female, united by a small chain which passes from the neck of the woman to the arms of the man. Scientific exploration, which followed on the heels of this chance discovery, resulted in the finding of a circle 22 metres in diameter, with a single large trench in the centre. No more objects, however, came to light except some fragments of black bucchero and one of those large ritual cones which have been noted in other graves.¹

13. HOARD OF THE THRESHING-FLOOR (*Aia Bambagini*)

Not actually within any circle or recognizable grave but only a few metres outside the circle just described was found a very valuable hoard of jewellery.



FIG. 40. Gold fibula with granulated ornament. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, tav. v. Full size.

It is, of course, quite possible that it belonged originally to some grave of which the construction had been ruined by the threshing-floor (*Aia*) put up by a farmer on this part of the Bambagini hill. In this instance the entire discovery was due to chance, for the superb gold fibula, a masterpiece of *pulviscolo* technique, shown in Fig. 40 was picked up by farm labourers on the very surface of the ground. On practically the same spot, five years later, the plough turned up a complete cache of gold and silver ornaments weighing 527 grammes. With these more precious objects were an iron fibula, two bronze bracelets, and a glass bead.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 402; 1908, p. 420; *Mont.*, Plate 191, figs. 12, 13.

The cache of precious ornaments consisted of two plain armlets of electrum,¹ three small bulla-shaped pendants of the same material, two small spiral coils of silver plated with gold, a small gold fibula with granulated ornamentation,

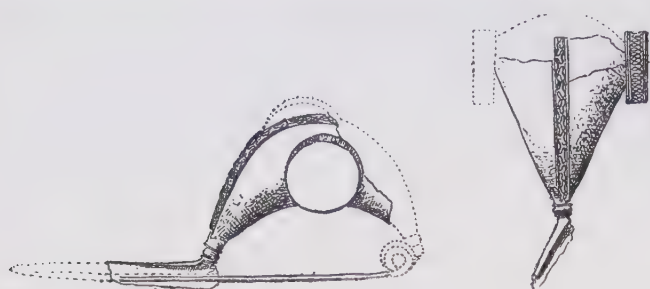


FIG. 41. Silver fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 249. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

and four remarkable silver fibulae. The armlets measured internally 8 and externally 12 centimetres; they were formed of a hollow tubing of sheet metal like a good many bronze armlets found in other tombs. The spiral coils, which were probably ear-rings rather than rings for confining the hair,

differed from the bronze examples sometimes found in these tombs in being flattened out like ribbon at each end; they consist of two complete disjointed circles with an overlap. Very interesting and unusual are the fibulae made of silver (or more strictly electrum) which are shown in Fig. 41; two are plain and the other two are ornamented with filigree on the back. Of the same very rare shape was the iron fibula found with them.²

14. CIRCLE OF THE SILVER NECKLACE (*Circolo del Monile d'argento*)

On the same hill of Bambagini were discovered circles 14 and 15. The former of these, named from the remarkable necklace described below, measured 18 metres in diameter and contained two trenches. The first trench had been completely rifled, but the other, almost in the centre of the ring, was inviolate. On the floor of this second trench, 4.40 metres in length by 3.80 metres in width, were three groups of objects.

In the first group was a tall bronze vase with spherical body and high perforated foot, the top of which was covered by an inverted bronze bowl. Inside this was a bronze knife, of the concavo-convex shape, common in Bolognese cemeteries. Beside it were two bronze spits, the bronze discoidal flask shown in Fig. 42, a plain bronze cauldron containing five fluted bronze

¹ Electrum is an alloy of silver with gold, artificially mixed in order to give the degree of ductility or hardness which the goldsmith may desire for his particular work. At Vetulonia the proportion of gold to silver in the alloy is often so slight that it is hardly inaccurate to describe a specimen merely as 'silver'. When therefore

Falchi has written 'silver' we have generally followed his terminology unless it conflicted with Montelius's description in such a way as to be confusing to the student.

² *Not. Sc.* 1900, p. 492; 1908, p. 420; Mont., Plate 191, figs. 1-4, fig. 6, fig. 11.

bowls, and a small hemispherical bronze bowl decorated with rudely executed figures of men and animals in repoussé.

The second group was composed of several fluted bronze bowls, a bronze cup, of which the handle ended in the shape of a bovine animal, and a very fine bronze censer with lotus-top and articulated handle precisely like the example illustrated in Plate 24 on the right of the lowest shelf. With these was a large bronze fibula.

In the third group was found the remarkable necklace illustrated in Fig. 43. It is composed of five or more elliptical rings of silver, each about 8 centimetres in maximum diameter, with little spirals of silver wire at the end of each ring and four plain discs of silver on the underside. The body of each ring had apparently been inlaid with smooth plaques of ivory, many fragments of which were found. In no other instance has an ornament of this pattern been found complete, though fragments which can now be recognized as having formed part of such necklaces have occurred not only at Vetulonia but also at Narce and at Vulci.

With the necklace were lying six fibulae of gold and two of silver, all of 'mignatta' form except one silver specimen, which was of the 'double mignatta' type shown in Fig. 27 that occurred in the 'Twin Circles' (p. 108), and will be found again at Acquastrini. Also with the necklace were several bronze fibulae of three different types, viz. the plain bow, the mignatta, and the bow threaded with amber discs; a plain bowl and plate of silver; some glass beads and a broken ostrich egg.

Finally there were found in different parts of the tomb fragments of commonplace plain bucchero, a large iron spear, a plain bronze situla, parts of the bronze harness of horses. And, scattered here and there, the remains of a human skeleton.¹

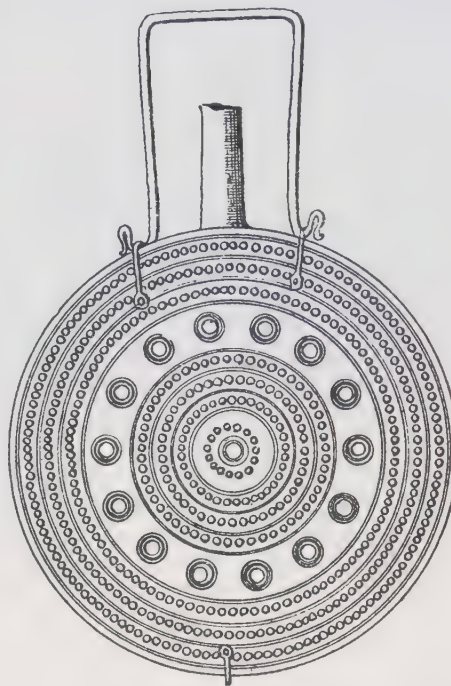


FIG. 42. Bronze flask. After *Not. Scavi*, 1913, p. 427. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

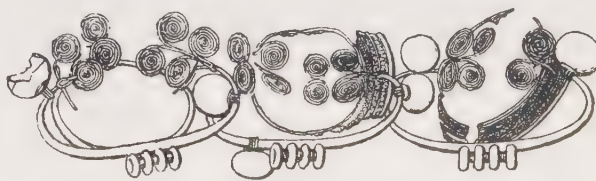


FIG. 43. Silver necklace. After *Not. Scavi*, 1913, p. 428. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

¹ *Not. Sc.*, 1913 pp. 425-9.

15. CIRCLE OF THE CAULDRONS (*Circolo dei Lebeti*)

This circle was 21 metres in diameter, and peculiar in having only one trench, which was almost in the centre. Within this trench close to the surface

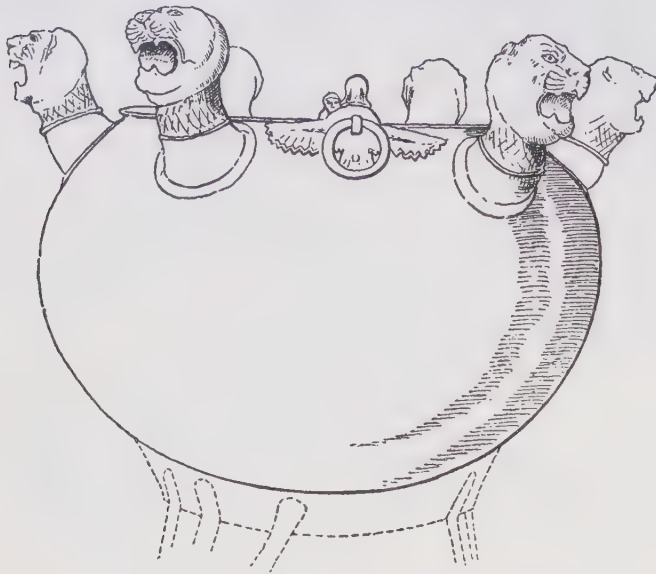


FIG. 44. Bronze cauldron. After *Not. Scavi*, 1913, p. 431.
Scale $\frac{1}{12}$.

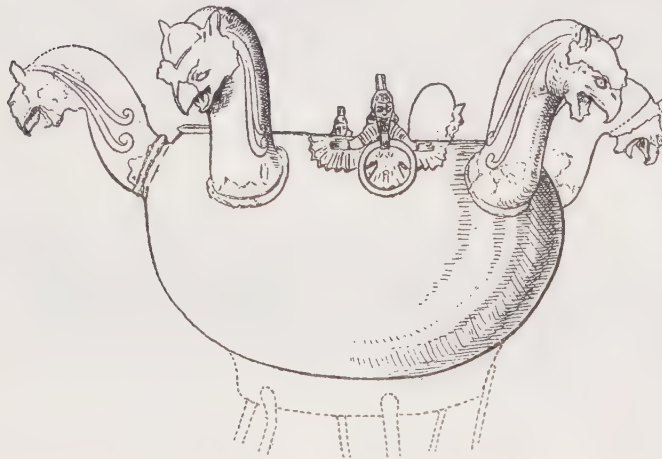


FIG. 45. Bronze cauldron. After *Not. Scavi*, 1913, p. 433.
Scale $\frac{1}{11}$.

of the ground were two iron chariot - wheels, and below them were two pairs of bronze cauldrons. One in each pair was plain and smooth, but the other two are decorated (Figs. 44 and 45) with the most remarkable figure work that has yet been noted. The first (0.65 metre in diameter at the rim), has two rings riveted as handles on opposite sides of the rim, and behind each of these rings a figure in relief with the head and arms of a man but the wings and tail of a bird (Fig. 44). Between the figures the edge of the cauldron is decorated with the heads of lions, six in number, which project upward on long outstretched necks. The vessel itself and all the figures are of hammered bronze, while the eyes of the lions are represented by an inlay of white and blue enamel.

In the second cauldron (Fig. 45), the workmanship and design are very similar to the first, but instead of lions the six long-necked creatures which surround the edge are of that mythical species which may perhaps be described as griffins. Even more remarkable than in the first example are the semi-human figures at the handles, for in this case they are Janus-headed men with bearded faces like Assyrians, wearing on their heads a curious recurved cap. The

'cauldron of the griffins' rested on one of those bronze objects like a float on wheels which have been found at Veii, Palestrina, and Narce, as well as in the Regolini-Galassi tomb. These are explained either as censers or as 'porta-vivande'. Rows of birds stand all over the flat surface of the top, in the centre of which there is a shallow depression (Fig. 46). Round the 'cauldron of the lions', which stood inside the largest of the two plain vessels, was a network of bronze spits and iron rods, some of which may have composed a tripod or stand. Inside it were various portions of a horse's bit and of harness, three small 'fibule a globetti', two silver buckles, and a pendant set with an intaglio in dark red stone, representing a mythological animal. At the bottom of the vessel were cremated bones.

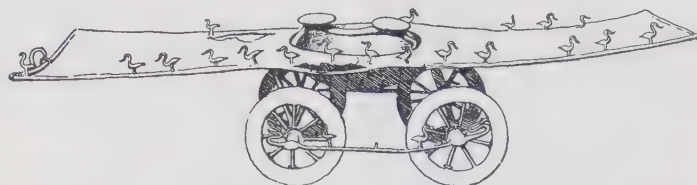


FIG. 46. Bronze food-table. After *Not. Scavi*, 1913, p. 436.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

Inside the cauldron of the griffins were a smooth, plain cauldron, the remains of a bronze ossuary, probably of Villanovan shape, a bronze candelabrum, and articles of horse's harness. Outside and against it were more parts of the harness, two bronze and two iron spear-heads, and fragments of more tall bronze vases.¹

16. FIRST CIRCLE OF LE PELLICCIE

A short distance north-east of the hill of Bambagini is the striking and conspicuous mound called 'della Pietrera'. Between it and the mound called 'del Diavolino' were the two circles of Le Pelliccie. In the first of these much damage had been done to the surface by ploughing and cultivation, but the original diameter of the circle was satisfactorily ascertained to have been about 16 metres, within which there were four distinct trenches, separated from one another as usual by virgin ground. Huge as the first trench was—a square measuring 5 metres each way—it proved to be completely empty; but in the second trench, 2.20 metres in length, a layer of ten plain bucchero cups was found only 60 centimetres below the surface. Beneath these was a great bronze basin, round which had been placed two iron horse-bits, part of an iron chariot-wheel, a fine pair of bronze greaves, a pair of 'spits', a broken bronze receptacle and various fluted bucchero cups. The bronze basin resembled in shape and size those found in the Prince's Tomb, but differed in being covered

¹ *Not. Sc.*, 1913, pp. 429-37.

with a network of broad iron bands. Its contents were a bronze helmet (cf. Mont., Plate 195, no. 15), several fluted bronze bowls, a plain bronze candelabrum, two bronze pails, a bronze pempobolon, a bronze figurine, a small silver bowl with incised pattern on the rim, and some unimportant bucchero cups.

In the third trench the most interesting object was the bronze vase covered

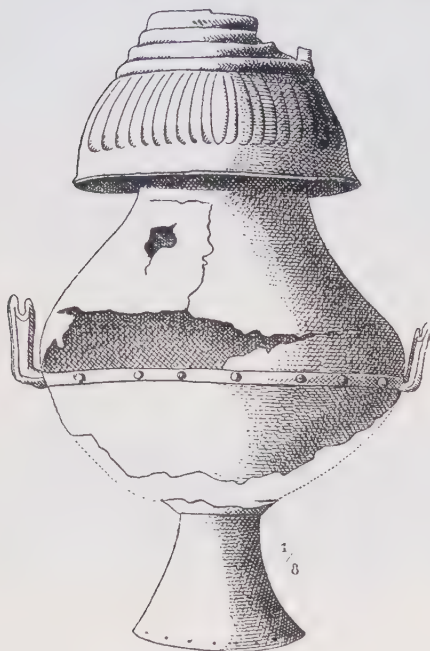


FIG. 47. Bronze vase and bowl.
From Falchi, *Vetulonia*. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

with a large fluted bronze bowl shown in Fig. 47, which exactly resembles Villanovan bronze ossuaries, but proved to contain nothing but earth. Similar forms and derivatives from them occur at Chiusi and Corneto, but the only examples from Etruscan Vetulonia are those found in the two circles of Le Pelliccie. In the same trench there were several other bronze objects, viz. two candelabra, a ring, an axe, the butt of a spear, and some bowls. From the fragments of bucchero it appeared that there had been several of those large fluted bowls with high loop-handles, of which an example from the Prince's Tomb is shown on the top shelf of Plate 21.

The fourth trench, which was very small and superficial, contained a fluted bronze bowl, round which were arranged in a circle two very small gold fibulae, two silver and six bronze fibulae, one or more bronze fibulae with bodies of coloured glass, and two gold-plated silver bracelets. All the fibulae, though of different dimensions, were of the same general 'mignatta' type; the little gold examples granulated with tiny bosses and beads very closely resemble in appearance and technique those found (cf. Fig. 24) in the Circle of the Bracelets.¹

17. SECOND CIRCLE OF LE PELLICCIE

The second circle was 32 metres in diameter, enclosing three trenches. Of these the first contained two bronze bits with various bronze bosses and other portions of the harness (Plate 24, lowest shelf), a bronze ossuary like Fig. 47, a second bronze vase with spherical body which appears on the right of the middle shelf in Plate 24, a bronze situla seen on the left of the bottom shelf in Plate 24, and nine bronze bowls, of which six were fluted. With these

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 160-7; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 392; Mont., Plate 195, figs. 13-29.

were four bronze 'spits' shown on the left of the situla, and a plain candelabrum shown on the right of the situla in Plate 24; also iron andirons and fragments of bucchero, amongst which had been a large fluted bowl like that in the last tomb. There had been other objects of bronze and iron, but they were reduced to a mass of unrecognizable débris.

In the second trench were lying the two femoral bones of a man, and close beside them the fine bronze helmet shown in the middle of Plate 24, covering a little group of bronze fibulae, of which one has the new form of a running dog. Here, too, there were the pulverized remains of many bronze and iron objects, amongst which nothing could be identified except an iron spear-head and two bronze spear-heads bound with coils of bronze wire to wooden shafts.

In the third trench the top was filled by an iron wheel and several iron bands, doubtless from the same chariot. When the top rubbish had been cleared off the funerary deposit appeared below it in two groups the one composed of pottery and bronze vessels, the other of personal ornaments in gold, silver, amber, and glass, surrounding a single fluted bronze bowl. Under these again the whole floor was completely covered with small amber beads, of which there must have been about 4 kilogrammes.

In the first group were the bronze candelabrum topped with a figurine seen on the bottom shelf of Plate 24, the bronze censer with lotus-top and jointed handle on the right of the same shelf, a bronze ossuary of Villanovan type like Fig. 47, the bronze dish with side handles seen on the top shelf in Plate 24, eight fluted bronze bowls, and fragments of a bronze basin, of which the handles were riveted in the shape of a Latin cross. With these were two andirons and a number of broken bucchero vases, amongst which only four types could be identified. The first was a cup shaped like the inscribed cup in the Prince's Tomb; the second a fluted bowl with two double-stemmed side handles, the third a common form of footed bowl, peculiar only in having eight clay studs set at intervals round the rim, and the fourth a wide-mouthed jug with one high loop-handle.

The personal ornaments consisted of

(a) Four necklaces, of which one was formed of twisted silver strands and another of a series of silver tubes—two types found in the Foreigner's Tomb (cf. above, p. 104), while the third was a chain of small bronze links, and the fourth a string of about 150 amber beads, including a very large amber scarab, 9 centimetres in diameter.

(b) Two silver bracelets with overlapping ends, two plain silver rings, and some silver pins with oval heads.

(c) Four bronze fibulae with unusually long bodies of finely striated coloured glass, and several others from which the covering glass had disappeared.

(d) Three gold fibulae of 'mignatta' form, ornamented with little bosses and beads like the gold fibulae in the last tomb. Several silver fibulae of mignatta

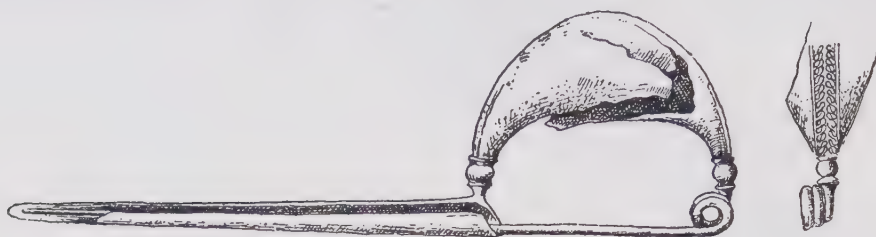


FIG. 48. Silver fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 250. Full size.

form, one of which (Fig. 48) has two lines of fine filigree down the centre of the back.

(e) Numerous bronze fibulae, all resembling one another, with 'sanguisuga' body and very long catch-point.¹

18. TOMB OF THE THREE BOATS (*Tomba delle tre Navicelle*)

This tomb, which takes its name from the three little bronze boats found in it, was a simple trench, 3.30 metres long by 1.85 metres wide and 1.95 metres deep, without any enclosing circle whatsoever. It was situated a little to the north of the great mound called Pietrera, and not far from the circles of Le Pelliccie; so that, although it is just outside the quadrilateral which includes with one exception all the other tombs 1 to 25, it may well be considered here. That this *fossa* belongs to the same stage and period of cultivation as the circle-graves is proved by the fact that all the objects of any importance found in it are duplicates of others which have been already recorded above.

The three boats, of which one is shown in Plate 25, no. 5, were found in the filling of the grave. With them were a bronze file 13 centimetres long, four bronze belt-buckles, two small bronze pempobola, and two spiral bronze bracelets, seven iron spears, two square-socketed iron axes, two bone dice, and some pottery, which will be described later.

On the floor of the tomb were two skeletons. Beside the first of these was a knife 0.45 metre long, four bronze pails (Plate 25, no. 6), a pair of bronze greaves (Plate 25, no. 7), and a small bronze disc. Beside the second skeleton were three silver fibulae (Fig. 49), a number of 'mignatta' fibulae of bronze—some of which were plated with gold—two bronze fibulae with long bodies

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 167-77; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 393; Mont., Plate 196.

of striated glass, a chatelaine of three bronze chains ending in pendants, two silver spiral ear-rings, a bronze belt-buckle (Plate 25, no. 1), a bronze bracelet (Plate 25, no. 2), some amber beads, and some pottery.

The pottery included not only bucchero of the bold type of two-handled bowl with high loop handles (Plate 25, no. 3), but also several examples of that yellow ware which was noted in the tomb of the Prince (p. 116), and will be recorded again in other graves. A new and very characteristic form of this foreign pottery is shown in Plate 25, no. 4, besides which there were one or more bowls and several balsamaries.¹



FIG. 49. Silver fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 243. Full size.

Of the groups of tombs which we number 19 to 26 in this record, four are appreciably farther from the original starting-point of Poggio alla Guardia than any which have been hitherto described. The circles of Sagrona, Acquastrini, and the Lictor are isolated on outlying slopes east of the preceding series, while the tumulus of Val di Campo is actually some distance south of the mound of Pepe. So that if there is any value in the topographical argument all these should be later in date than Nos. 1 to 18. As to the others there are special reasons for assigning at any rate the graves of Pietrera and Franchetta to the end of the Vetulonian period, because, altogether apart from their position, they can be proved to be later than the mausoleum in the great mound of Pietrera itself.

19. TRENCH-GRAVES OF SAGRONA

The road called the Sagrona road branches off from the Via dei Sepolcri at the mound of Pietrera, and runs south-east and east in a steep descent to the plain. On this road, at a point due north of Poggio Pepe, was a row of five circles, which will be described in the next section. Immediately outside the fifth of them were seven unenclosed rectangular trenches (*fosse*) cut in the hard soil without any signs of external or internal construction. Each trench contained a skeleton and some tomb furniture, which is naturally less in quantity, but seems also to be somewhat different in character from that which occurs in the circle-graves. But it would be dangerous to found any far-reaching argument on half a dozen examples, and if the tomb of the Three Boats is a typical *fossa*, then it must be remembered that the contents of that *fossa* were completely identical with those of the circle-graves.

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1900, p. 484; Mont., Plate 198.

The first of the Sagrona trench-graves contained an iron knife, a bracelet of twisted bronze wire, and two bronze hooks like the hooks of a modern dress. In the second were a bronze spear, a plain bracelet (presumably of bronze), an interesting new type of bronze fibula with a body made of silver filigree (Fig. 50), two bronze hooks like those in the first tomb, and two iron daggers 27 centimetres long (Plate 25, no. 12), of a form not previously found. In the third was a semi-lunar razor of the familiar Villanovan type, a pottery model of a shoe, and a spiral of bronze wire which may have been the binding of a weapon. In the fourth tomb the only objects were two bronze fibulae of 'sanguisuga' form; while from the fifth no objects are recorded, though it is not explicitly stated that none were found. The sixth tomb contained three bronze bracelets, several bronze fibulae of 'sanguisuga' form and two of 'mignatta' form, three bronze spirals with drop-shaped pendants attached, and a considerable quantity of pottery which was too damaged for description. Work in the seventh tomb was impeded by local obstacles, so that it is only known that a spear-head and some

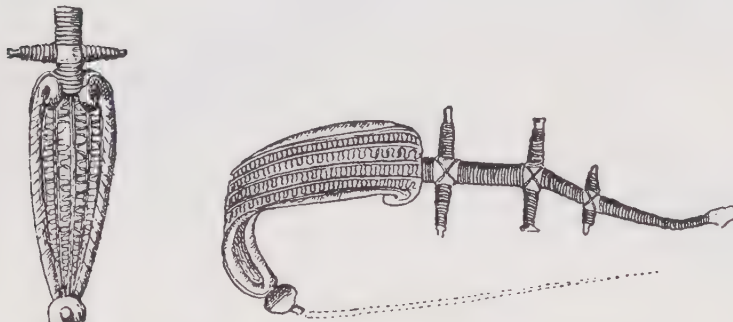


FIG. 50. Bronze fibula with silver filigree. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 240. A little over full size.

pottery were found, of neither of which were any details published.

Between the fifth and sixth graves a cremation burial was found in a globular pottery ossuary sunk in the usual circular hole. With the cremated remains there were no objects, but leaning against the outside of the ossuary were an iron spear-head and two iron daggers (cf. Plate 25, no. 12) like those recorded from the second grave.¹

Near the first of the circles another cremation burial urn was found in a large two-handled pottery vessel (ziro) sunk in a regular *pozzetto* surrounded by upright slabs of stone. Within the pot were several balsamaries of yellow clay, and a ribbon-handled jug of the same ware, bucchero cups and a bucchero bowl, two fibulae of 'sanguisuga' type, two belt-buckles, an iron spear, and an iron knife. The pottery vessel was covered with a stone slab on the top of which were several bucchero cups and jugs crushed under the weight of a tumbled mass of stones, which may originally have formed a regular cairn above the burial.²

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 184-6; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 397.

² Falchi, *Vetulonia*, p. 178, *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 396.

20. THE SAGRONA CIRCLES

Of the five circles on the Sagrona road only two contained anything worth recording, viz. the First and the Second.

The First Circle contained four large stone cones, a horse-bit, two iron 'spits', fragments of bucchero cups and bowls, fragments of tall full-bodied bronze vases; a complete silver bowl; an iron spear (Plate 25, no. 9).

In the Second Circle the contents of one trench had been almost hopelessly destroyed by damp and pressure, but it was possible to recognize an iron chariot-wheel, two tall full-bodied bronze vases, and a situla, together with some fluted bronze bowls and numerous bucchero cups. More interesting than these was an iron candelabrum, the only instance occurring at Vetulonia, of the same shape and style as the usual bronze candelabra. In the other trench within this circle were a bronze helmet, a bronze shield, and a superb example (Plate 25, no. 8) of a bronze sword with antennae handle. With these were an iron chariot-wheel, a bronze candelabrum (Plate 25, no. 10), and a mass of shapeless débris from bronze, iron, and pottery.¹

21. THE ACQUASTRINI CIRCLE

On a slope a little west of the Sagrona tombs was the very large circle called that of Acquastrini, the diameter of which is not recorded. In the filling of the tomb were numerous fragments of black bucchero and a number of bronze pieces belonging to the harness and trappings of a horse. Most of these are of types already familiar, viz. decorated mouth-bits, bosses, and loops, round rings, &c., but some long strings of fancifully shaped pendants occur here for the first time (Montelius, Plate 192, no. 8). Within the circle was only one trench, descending to a depth of four metres, at which point one half was cut still deeper, and could not be exhaustively explored on account of the water which filled it. The other half formed a ledge 2.30 metres long by 2.10 metres wide, covered with the débris of bronze and pottery. It was possible to note that there had been three full-bodied bronze vases (presumably resembling Fig. 28), a number of the usual fluted bronze bowls, and a plain bronze situla. Some bronze chains, a bronze paalstab, and four 'spits' were better preserved.



FIG. 51. Gold fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 248. Twice full size.

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 179-181; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 396; Mont., Plate 190.

The most interesting object which had survived was a bronze candelabrum topped with a group (Plate 25, no. 11 and no. 13) of four helmeted heads; apparently the heads had all been cast in a single mould, and as twelve others

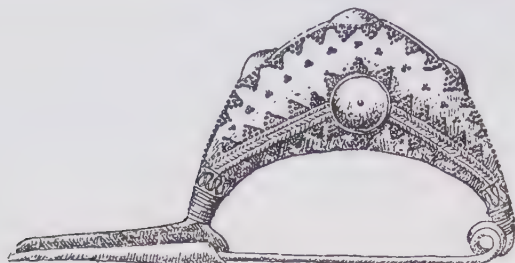


FIG. 52. Gold fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 252. Twice full size.

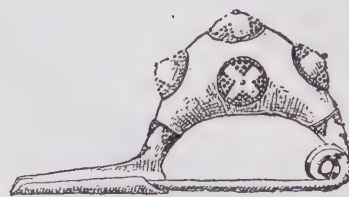


FIG. 53. Silver and gold fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 251. Full size.

were found, it is probable that there had been a set of four candelabra all matching.

A number of small personal ornaments, as so often happens, had escaped the ruin and breakage which destroyed the larger specimens. Besides several 'mignatta' fibulae of bronze, and two enormously heavy iron fibulae of the same shape, there were amber discs from fibulae, amber beads of various forms, and several objects in gold and silver which deserve to be described.

Of gold there were seven fibulae, all of 'mignatta' form. Five of these were plain, but a sixth (Fig. 51) was engraved with triangles and hatched bands, while another was finely ornamented with filigree and small bosses (Fig. 52, cf. 53). Two spiral gold bracelets, each of two coils with an overlap, are like a number of bracelets already recorded. Fifty small gold nail-heads or studs belonged to some object which has perished.



FIG. 54. Silver fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 241. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Of silver there were a good many fibulae of the 'double mignatta' form (Fig. 54) seen also above in Fig. 27, but they were mostly in fragments. In two silver fibulae of the more common 'mignatta' form the body was ornamented with bosses of gold (Fig. 53) as in an example at Le Pelliccie. Besides these there were plain rings, a belt-buckle, head-pins, and small tubes, all of silver. These last had formed a necklace like the examples found in the Foreigner's Tomb and in the Second Circle at Le Pelliccie. Another reminiscence of the Foreigner's Tomb is a little plaque of silver ornamented with figures of ducks in repoussé between two lines of small bosses.¹

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 186-92; *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 398; Mont., Plate 192.

22. THE FRANCHETTA CIRCLES

This group of five is obviously somewhat later than the majority of those hitherto described. It stands a little south of the great mound of Pietrera, from which it is separated by a steep ravine called Franchetta, and as two of the graves contained worked stones which had demonstrably come from the mausoleum of the Pietrera, it is clear that they must be subsequent to that building. Structurally, moreover, there is a new stage of development, for whereas two of the tombs are of the normal circle type, a third is a regular tumulus, in which the outer stones do not merely define but actually support the piled up earth and boulders. In a fourth case again the ring of stones had been transformed into a wall of two or three courses, enclosing several tombs which are partitioned off from one another by upright slabs.

The five Franchetta graves had all been plundered; they contained skeletons and a few objects, of which the most important are the superb bronze axe and the bronze censer shown in Plate 26, nos. 5 and 6. These were found in the same tomb as a conical bronze helmet, and some bronze fibulae ornamented with gold and with amber. The axe is a very modern-looking implement in excellent preservation with a blade 18 centimetres long by 8 centimetres broad; the bronze haft is continued in a single piece with a sheathing of bronze which covers a heavy round shaft of iron 28 centimetres long. The lower part of the handle is of very hard wood, of which parts remain, fitting into the iron shaft and fastened into it with nails.

From another tomb, the fifth of this group, came the fine bronze horse-bit shown in Plate 26, no. 7, and the bronze bowl, Plate 26, no. 8, the handle of which explains various fragments that have been found in other places. In the remaining three tombs were a few small objects of bronze, silver, and iron, an 'alabastron' of real alabaster, and small round balsamaries of the yellow imported ware.¹

23. TUMULUS OF VAL DI CAMPO

In speaking of the last group it was remarked that one of the tombs was a regular tumulus. There were many tumuli, as distinct from circles, in different parts of the Vetulonian area; but very few have ever been explored. It is useful, therefore, to have the complete record of a tumulus standing south of the mound of Poggio Pepe, at a considerable distance from any of the other

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1894, p. 350; *Mont.*, Plate 197.

tombs described in this chapter. The tumulus of Val di Campo, flattened and mutilated by traffic but still 14 metres in length, was situated not on the hill-slopes but on the plain, only 6 metres above the level of the marsh. An unfortunate result of its position was that the bulk of the funerary deposit had been entirely ruined by water. This had probably been one of the largest deposits buried in any Vetulonian grave, contained in one huge rectangular trench covered with a pile of earth and stones. At the bottom of the trench bronzes and pottery were in a state of almost formless pulp, but the excavator was able to observe that both were of the same character as the specimens in the circle-graves. That is to say there were bronze vessels made of hammered sheets with conspicuous rows of rivets, and bucchero cups and bowls resembling

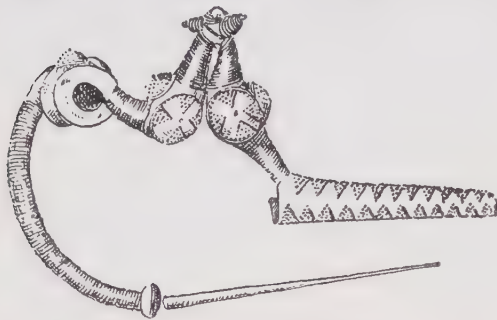


FIG. 55. Silver and gold fibula. From *Studi e materiali*, vol. i, p. 242. Full size.

types found in the Tomb of the Prince. Only one piece of pottery survived unbroken, viz. the little globular vase of yellow ware shown in Plate 26, no. 4, while the only bronze which had escaped the general ruin was the tripod shown in Plate 26, no. 1. Of numerous pieces of amber only two had distinct shape, one being a plain oval and the other a well-formed scarab. A silver belt-buckle, however (Plate 26, no. 3), and two plain gold fibulae of the open-boat type were in good condition.

Fortunately a part of the deposit had been placed by itself on a slab of stone at a higher level, and here it had been well preserved. From this part of the tomb were obtained two large bronze vases, one of which had handles very similar to those of the Franchetta bowl (Plate 26, no. 8), while the other was the ossuary shown in Plate 26, fig. 2. The ossuary was quite full of cremated remains, on the top of which was the fibula shown in Fig. 55, made of silver covered (except for the pin) with electrum and wrapped round at the top with gold wire. By the side of the ossuary were several weapons and other objects of bronze, viz. two spear-heads, a sword, four horse-bits, and various rings and bosses from harness, two 'spits', and a long spiral of wire. There were also an iron spear, two iron daggers of the same pattern as those from the Sagrona graves (Plate 25, no. 12), and an iron paalstab.¹

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, pp. 198-202, or *Not. Sc.* 1892, p. 403; Mont., Plate 183.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 24, 25, 26

PLATE 24. *VETULONIA. *Second Circle of Le Pelliccie*. Original photograph of the contents of a case in the museum at Florence. The most important objects are: on the top shelf a bronze dish with side-handles; on the middle shelf a spherical-bodied bronze vase and a fine bronze helmet; on the lower shelf a bronze situla, two bronze candelabra, a bronze censer with jointed swinging handle, four bronze spits, bronze horse-bits, bosses, and other parts of the harness.

PLATE 25. VETULONIA. *Tre Navicelle*, nos. 1-7; *Sagrona*, nos. 8, 9, 10, 12; *Acquastrini*, nos. 11-13.

Nos. 1, 2, 5 from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plate 198.

Nos. 11, 13 from Montelius, Plate 192. Nos. 9 and 12 from Montelius, Plate 190.

No. 8 from Milani, *Studi e materiali*, vol. iii, Plate 3.

No. 10 from Falchi, *Vetulonia*.

Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7 from original photographs taken in the museum at Florence. Nos. 3 and 4 are of pottery, nos. 9 and 12 are of iron, all the rest are of bronze.

Scale of nos. 1, 2, 13 is $\frac{1}{2}$; of nos. 3, 4, 6, 7 is $\frac{1}{10}$; of no. 5 is $\frac{1}{3}$; of no. 8 is $\frac{1}{8}$; of nos. 9 and 11 is $\frac{1}{7}$; of no. 10 is $\frac{1}{8}$; of no. 12 is $\frac{1}{4}$.

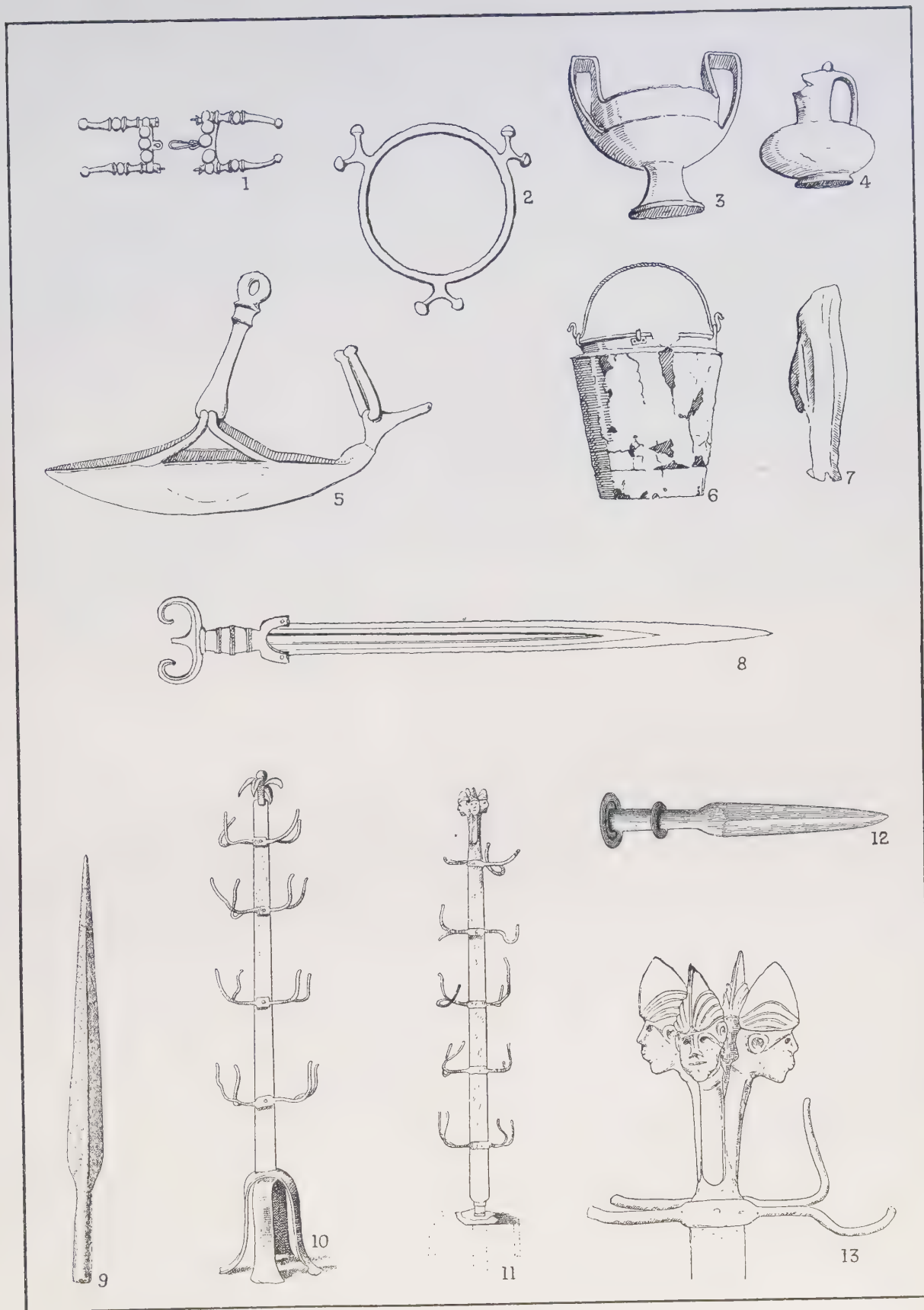
PLATE 26. VETULONIA. *Val di Campo*, nos. 1-4; *Franchetta*, nos. 5-8.

Nos. 1-4 from Falchi, *Vetulonia*; nos. 5-8 from *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1894.

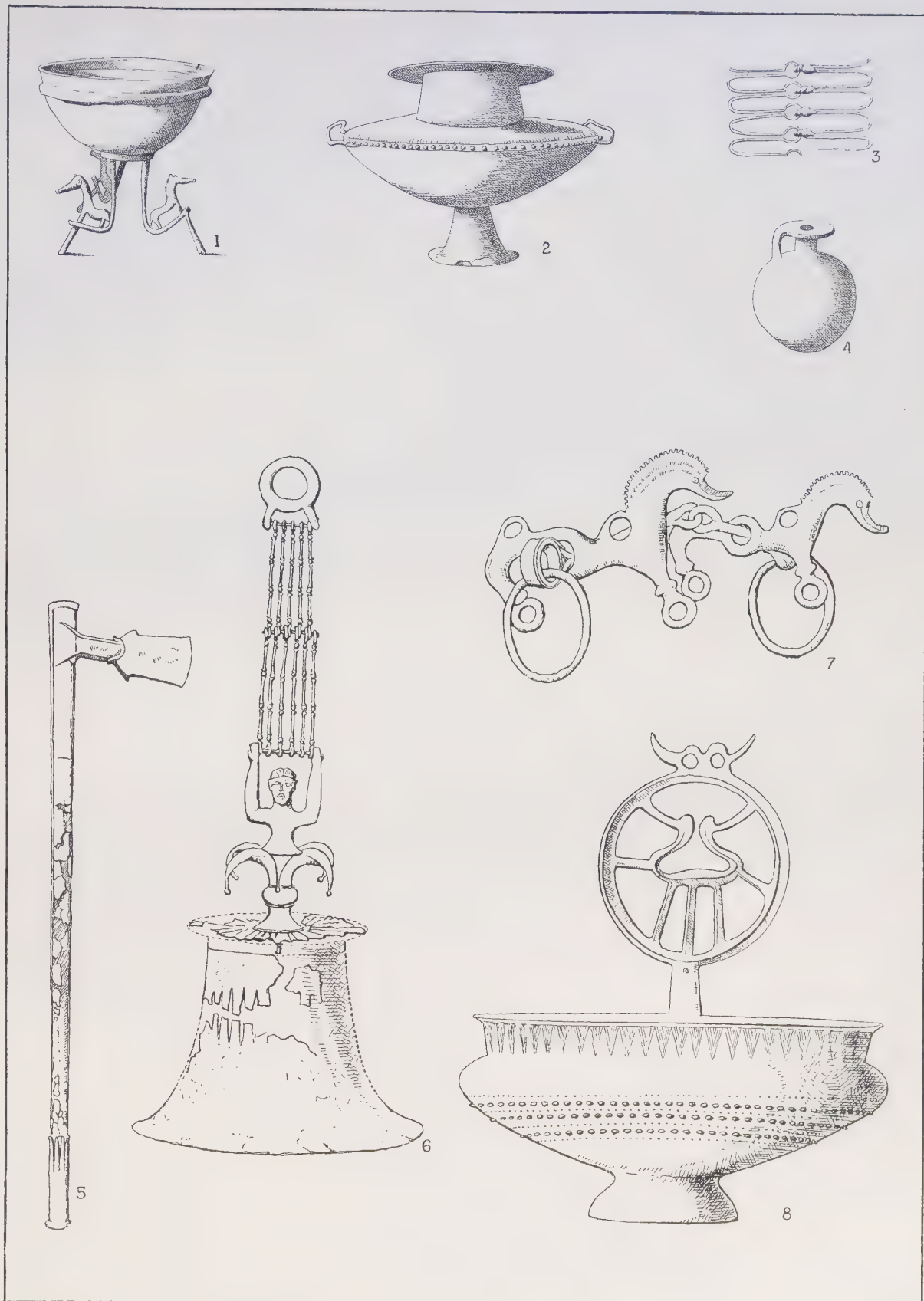
No. 1 is bronze, scale $\frac{3}{10}$; No. 2, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 3, silver, scale $\frac{5}{12}$; no. 4, pottery, scale $\frac{3}{10}$; no. 5, bronze, scale, $\frac{1}{5}$; no. 6, bronze, scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{4}$; no. 7, bronze, scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{3}$; no. 8, bronze, scale, $\frac{2}{5}$.



VETULONIA. Second Circle of Le Pellicie



VETULONIA. Tombs of Tre Navicelle, Sagrona, Acquastrini



VETULONIA. Tombs of Val di Campo and Franchetta

24. TOMB OF THE LICTOR (*Tomba del Littore*)

As a tumulus rather than a circle-grave must be considered the Tomb of the Lictor, as it had no enclosing ring of stones, but was indicated only by a slight rise in the ground. Its topographical position, however, groups it with the tombs of Sagrona and Acquastrini, to the latter of which it is a very close neighbour. Although partially plundered, the Tomb of the Lictor still contained some of the most valuable and characteristic objects produced at Vetulonia. Under the iron wheels and other slight remains of a chariot which had been of unusually fine workmanship, to judge from the repoussé fragments which have survived, was a large square trench 1 metre deep, containing the skeleton of an aged man. Beside the head of the skeleton were traces of a metal coffer, in which was a wrapping of gold leaf that enclosed the gold ornaments presently to be described. Near them was one of those bronze censers which have occurred in several of the circle-tombs (see, for instance, Plate 24, bottom shelf on right), some fragments of bronze vessels and of bucchero pottery, and some balsamaries of the yellow imported ware.

The object from which the tomb is named, Fig. 56, lay beside the skeleton. It is a double-headed iron axe, 0.27 metre long hafted on to an iron rod surrounded by eight hollow rods of iron. Falchi at once recognized it as the prototype of the famous fasces of the Roman lictors, and recalled the passage of Silius Italicus in which the origin of the fasces was attributed to Vetulonia :

Maeoniaeque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis.
bissenos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces;
et iunxit totidem tacito terrore secures.

The beautiful specimens of goldsmith's work originally enclosed in the coffer are illustrated in Plate 27¹ and in nos. 1-3 of Plate 28. These may be described according to the consecutive order of the illustrations. In Plate 27, no. 1, is shown one of a pair of bracelets composed of four hollow tubes of gold fastened by a hasp. With the hasp is connected at each end an oblong plaque so arranged as to unite three of the four tubes, while leaving two overlapping

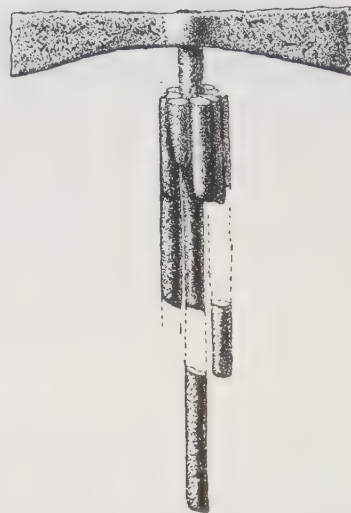


FIG. 56. Iron fasces et securis.
From Montelius, Plate 194. Scale
about $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹ After the drawings illustrating Karo's article in Milani's *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica*, vol. ii. Seeber, Firenze, 1901-2.

ends unattached. Plaques and tubes alike are ornamented with the most delicate designs in granulated gold, representing winged horses and various mythological animals.

A second example of minute granulated work is shown in Plate 27, no. 2, viz. a gold head-pin with a globular head. The top of the head is ornamented with a starfish design, while the remainder of the field is occupied by animals in two concentric zones. Karo compares this pin with one found at Chiusi, illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 227, no. 1; the nearest parallel to it at Vetulonia is the gold-tipped silver pin in the Circle of the Bracelets (cf. p. 107), which has a very simple *pulviscolo* decoration of crosses and triangles.

Finer, however, in execution than either the bracelets or the pin is the superb gold fibula shown in Plate 27, no. 4, and in Plate 28, no. 3. This and the fibula of the Bambagini hoard already mentioned (p. 129 and Fig. 40) may be taken as representing the high watermark of that very difficult technique of granulation in which the Vetulonian goldsmiths so peculiarly excelled. The head of the fibula is ornamented on each side with a pair of lions separated by a geometrical figure; beneath them are smaller animals in the same style. On either side of the long catch-plate, which is a simple ribbon-band of gold, a row of five winged animals is shown, with a herring-bone pattern along the rim above and below them.¹

A skilful combination of repoussé and granulation, in which the latter process predominates, appears in the very interesting gold fibula figured in Plate 28, no. 1. Here the 'mignatta' body has been developed and finished with the head and wings of a sphinx. It is formed of two beaten plates soldered together, on to which the head and wings have again been soldered. Feathers are indicated by granulated lines, but the face is left smooth below the level of the eyebrows. On the catch-plate, 6½ centimetres long, is a granulated design of animals, carelessly cut from a longer plate, so that the head of the last figure has been sacrificed. More showy, but technically less remarkable, than the granulated fibulae are three large gold fibulae of which one is shown in Plate 27, no. 5. They measure respectively 21 centimetres, 21½, and almost 22 centimetres in maximum length, and are virtually identical in design and workmanship. The catch-plate is formed of two flat bands soldered back to back, and shows a series of winged sphinxes, sometimes alternating with winged lions, within a margin ornamented with palmetto and rope patterns. On the body of the fibula two pairs of griffins are separated by volutes representing a stylized floral motive.

¹ With this may be compared and contrasted two fibulae found on Poggio alla Guardia in 1898 (Karo in *S. and M.*, i, pp. 254, 255). They are of

similar style and design but show an earlier phase of workmanship.

Simpler and more familiar forms of gold fibulae are represented by no. 3 in Plate 27 and no. 2 in Plate 8. Of these the first is only a slightly more fanciful version of the type which appeared in the Tomb of the Prince (cf. Fig. 33), with its curved top formed into the body of a lion, while the other is plain and unornamented.¹

The other objects found in the Tomb of the Lictor were a necklace composed of spherical fluted gold beads, two plain gold ear-rings, some silver pendants, a socketed axe of iron, some plain bucchero and some common balsamaries of yellow ware.²

25. CIRCLE OF LE MIGLIARINE

This circle lies north-east of Vetulonia, 3 kilometres beyond the mound of Pietrera, and because it is so distant would not have been included in our record, except for the fact that it contained several beautiful specimens of gold work which ought to be compared with the fibulae and bracelets described in the previous pages. The circle enclosed a trench-grave in which was an inhumation burial with bronze candelabra, bronze bowls, and a large bronze vase as well as two unusual vases of yellow clay painted with brown bands. With the skeleton were four identical gold fibulae, of which three are figured in Plate 28, no. 4, and two gold bracelets which appear at the bottom of the same plate. These may be more usefully studied in connexion with the very similar bracelets from the Pietrera graves described in the next section.³

26. THE TRENCH-GRAVES OF LA PIETRERA

In the layer of earth which covered the cairn in the great mound of Pietrera were found seven trench-graves at considerable intervals apart. These contained skeletons, though near the seventh grave was a cremation-burial in a pottery ossuary, unaccompanied by any objects except a bronze bracelet. Three of the trench-graves, nos. 1, 2, and 4, were extraordinarily rich in goldsmith's work. Each contained a pair of superb gold bracelets and a necklace of large gold beads, while two of them had also gold necklaces and one had a pair of electrum girdles. We will omit for the moment any inventory of

¹ All the goldsmiths' work of Vetulonia has been very minutely studied and discussed by Karo in Milani's *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica*, vol. i, Part 2 and vol. ii. There is an interesting account of the technique of granulation by Curtis in *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, vol. i, cf. also Marshall, *Catalogue of the*

Jewellery in the British Museum. Karo argues very forcibly for the independent origin and development of the whole Vetulonian school of gold work.

² *Not. Sc.* 1898, pp. 141-58; *Mont.*, Plates 193, 194; Karo, *op. cit.*

³ *Not. Sc.* 1894, pp. 340-4; *Mont.*, Plate 203; Karo *op. cit.*

minor objects and pass immediately to the description of the masterpieces illustrated in Plate 29.

Each of the bracelets in nos. 3, 4, and 5 of Plate 29 represents one of a pair, and all six so closely resemble the pair found in the Migliarine circle (Plate 28, nos. 5, 6) that they should be studied together as a group. These eight specimens form half of the entire number found at Vetulonia, and are unquestionably the most advanced of the whole series in technique and workmanship.

The filigree bracelets of the Circle of Bes (see Fig. 29 and p. 110), delicate as they are, belong to a distinctly earlier stage of craftsmanship than the group which we are now examining, and although the similarity of style marks them all as the product of the same place and the same school, the Migliarine and Pietrera specimens show greater skill and longer experience. Instead of mere wires between the rows of filigree there is a strong construction of solid gold bands, while plaques of beaten metal hold together the strands at either end. A farther advance is seen in the complete elimination of the *pulviscolo* technique, which Karo regards as especially proper to geometrical design, and the adoption of repoussé as the only style of ornament. For the period of the geometric has passed, the anthropomorphic has begun. Hitherto, except in the bronze work of the cauldrons in Circle 15 there has been no sign that the treatment of the human head had been mastered, but now in the masks which ornament the bracelets and the necklaces we may see the full awakening of that plastic sense which a few generations later was to make the Etruscan sculptors famous. The actual stage in the period is probably the latest in the whole Vetulonian series, for next to the circle of Migliarine and hardly separable from it is the Tomb of the Potter, in which there are clay animals which show a very advanced technique.¹

The essential design of all eight bracelets is the same, but in the Migliarine pair the band is narrower, with only seven rows of filigree and three masks on the wider cross-bar (Plate 28, nos. 5 and 6), while the narrower cross-bar has two palmettos. In the Pietrera bracelets there are nine rows of filigree separated by eight plain bands, which are reduced to five rows of filigree and four bands at the part which precedes the tongue. The cross-bars in one pair (Plate 29, no. 4) are ornamented with simple crescents and bosses; but in another pair (Plate 29, no. 3) the wider bar has four human masks, while the narrower has a remarkable representation of a kneeling female figure between two lions surmounted by a row of three crescents. Still another variant is shown

¹ It should be observed that in the Migliarine circle there were two vases, not illustrated by Montelius, of yellow clay painted with brown bands. And in the trench-graves of the Pietrera were yellow balsamaries with the characteristic painting of rayed lines on the top of the mouth. For the Tomb of the Potter ('Tumulo del Figulo') see *Not. Sc.* 1894, pp. 344-9 and Mont., Plate 203.

in the third pair, which has the same four masks on the wider bar, but three full-length female figures on the narrower (Plate 29, no. 5). In this last pair, moreover, the corners of each bar are studded with bosses of amber plated with gold. Back and front are practically duplicated in all these examples, so that each bracelet has two wide bars with identical pattern and two narrow bars with identical pattern. Next to the bracelets may be considered the necklaces, which in two of the graves were elaborate and finely worked, while in the other, viz. grave no. 1, which is in all respects simpler, there were only fluted gold beads.¹ The necklaces shown in Plate 29, nos. 1 and 2 closely resemble each other although found in different graves. No. 2 is composed of thirty-six pendants in repoussé beaten out of thin sheets which are hammered on to solid plain sheets to give them a strong foundation. The pendants represent a female head like the heads on the bracelets, with long curls coming down on each side of the face and a necklace of two rows of palmettos. They are attached to a row of spool-shaped gold beads strung horizontally, above which in turn are two rows of fluted beads. No. 1 is of the same pattern but more elaborate, with pendant masks of two kinds. A single head with palmetto collar, the ends of which terminate in lotuses, alternates with twin heads, beside each of which is an outstretched arm grasping the side lock of hair; there are twenty-three of the single and ten of the twin heads. Above these, as in the other necklace comes a row of spool-shaped beads and two rows of fluted. The arrangement of two rows of spherical beads over a row of another pattern is confirmed by the evidence of stone statues from the mausoleum of the Pietrera, which show women dressed in the same kind of ornaments that were found in the trench-graves above the cairn.

In grave no. 2 besides the bracelets and necklaces were fragments of two magnificent belts which have been carefully studied and put together as far as possible by Karo (*Studi e materiali*, pp. 272-6). The most complete of these is made of a thin hammered plate of electrum, which must have been fastened to a backing of leather or some other soft material. Along the upper edge is a row of full-length figures in repoussé similar to the figures seen on the bracelets (Plate 29, no. 5) from the same tomb. On the narrow band which fastens by a hinge to the main body of the belt is a row of winged animals below such a lotus or flower pattern as we have seen more than once in the handles of the bronze vases and elsewhere. The second belt had a still richer and more varied design with trees, horses, and other animals, of which the surviving

¹ The complete contents of grave 1 were as follows. Two gold bracelets shown in Plate 29, no. 4; the gold necklace of eighty-nine spherical beads; some bucchero vases of the same heavy

fluted style as observed in the Tomb of the Prince; oxidized fragments of sheet silver; bronze mignatta fibulae; fragments of amber; fragments of iron.

fragments give little more than a hint. In style and technique both find a very close parallel in the silver ossuary of the Prince's Tomb (cf. p. 117 and Fig. 32). Karo points out that a fragment of sculpture from the mausoleum of the Pietrera shows the figure of a woman actually wearing a belt of this kind with very similar designs upon it.

Besides the pair of gold bracelets (Plate 29, no. 5), the gold necklaces (Plate 29, no. 2), and the electrum belts, trench-grave no. 2 contained the following objects:

One gold bracelet of hollow tubing; two silver flasks (in fragments) shaped like pilgrim-bottles, ornamented at the top with a pair of lions in relief separated by a volute; bronze mignatta fibulae; an iron fibula; fragments of amber and ivory; balsamaries of yellow clay; bucchero vases, one of which was actually lined with a sheet of gold leaf. Besides the pair of bracelets (Plate 29, no. 3) and the gold necklaces (Plate 29, no. 1), trench-grave No. 4 contained the following objects: Four electrum bracelets of hollow tubing; two silver lions presumably from flasks like pilgrim-bottles; silver pendants in form of pilgrim-bottles; three silver mignatta fibulae; bronze sanguisuga fibulae; balsamaries of yellow clay painted with bands on the body and rays on the mouth; fluted bucchero bowls with high incised handles.¹

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 146; pp. 498-506; Mont., Plates 201, 202; Karo, *op. cit.*

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 27, 28, 29

PLATE 27. VETULONIA. *Tomb of the Lictor*. Gold ornaments, from the drawings ; illustrating the article by Karo in Milani's *Studi e materiali*, vols. i and ii.

No. 1. Bracelet of hollow tubes of gold, ornamented all over the surface with delicately executed designs in granulation ; op. cit., vol. ii, p. 101 ; scale, 3 : 2.

No. 2. Gold head-pin, ornamented with minute designs in granulation ; op. cit., i, p. 267 ; scale $\frac{7}{16}$.

No. 3. Gold fibula, surmounted by repoussé figure of an animal ; op. cit., i, p. 245 ; scale about $\frac{2}{3}$.

No. 4. Gold fibula, ornamented with animals and geometrical designs in granulation ; op. cit., i, p. 258 ; scale about $\frac{3}{4}$.

No. 5. Large gold fibula, ornamented with animals and designs in repoussé, without granulation ; op. cit., i, p. 263 ; scale about $\frac{4}{5}$.

PLATE 28. VETULONIA. *Tomb of the Lictor*, nos. 1-3, *Tombs of Le Migliarine*, nos. 4-6. Gold ornaments, from original photographs taken in the museum at Florence.

No. 1. Gold fibula, the top of which is formed by the figure of a sphinx in repoussé with some details in granulation. The animals on the catch-plate are in granulated work.

No. 2. Plain gold fibula. No. 3 the same gold fibula that is illustrated in Plate 27, no. 4.

No. 4. Gold fibulae, of which the top is formed by the figure of a sphinx in repoussé.

No. 5, 6. A pair of gold bracelets made of filigree bands alternating with plain bands. The wide band of the bracelet terminates in three human masks executed in repoussé.

PLATE 29. VETULONIA. *Trench-graves on the Mound of La Pietrera*. Gold ornaments from the drawings illustrating the article by Karo in Milani's *Studi e materiali*, vol. ii.

No. 1. Fluted gold beads and gold repoussé masks forming a necklace ; op. cit., vol. ii, p. 127.

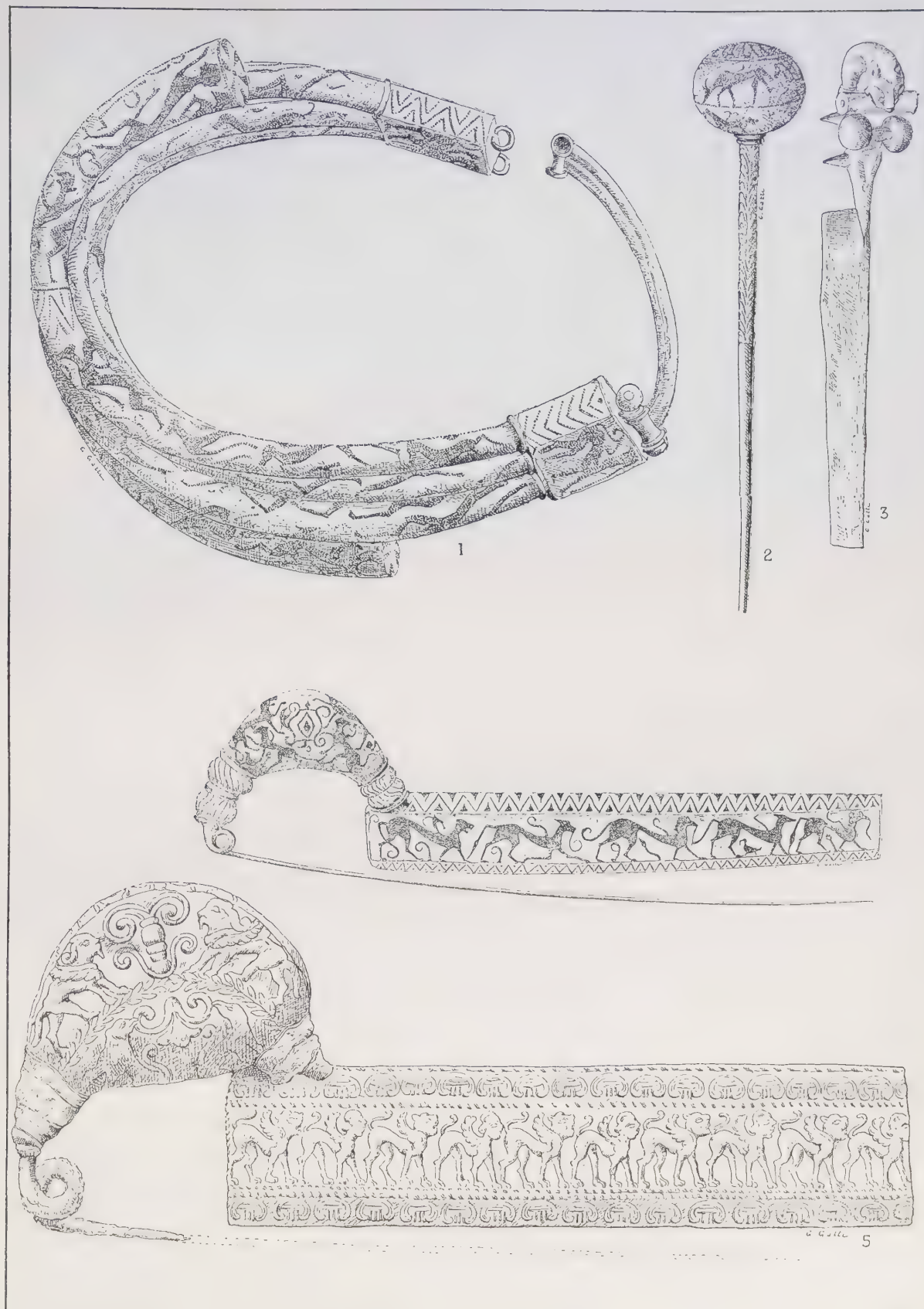
No. 2. Tubular gold beads and gold repoussé masks, forming a necklace ; op. cit., vol. ii, p. 126.

No. 3. Bracelet made of filigree bands alternating with plain bands of gold. The wide band of the bracelet terminates in four repoussé masks, and the narrow band in the mythological representation (in repoussé) of a goddess between two rampant animals ; op. cit., vol. ii, p. 107.

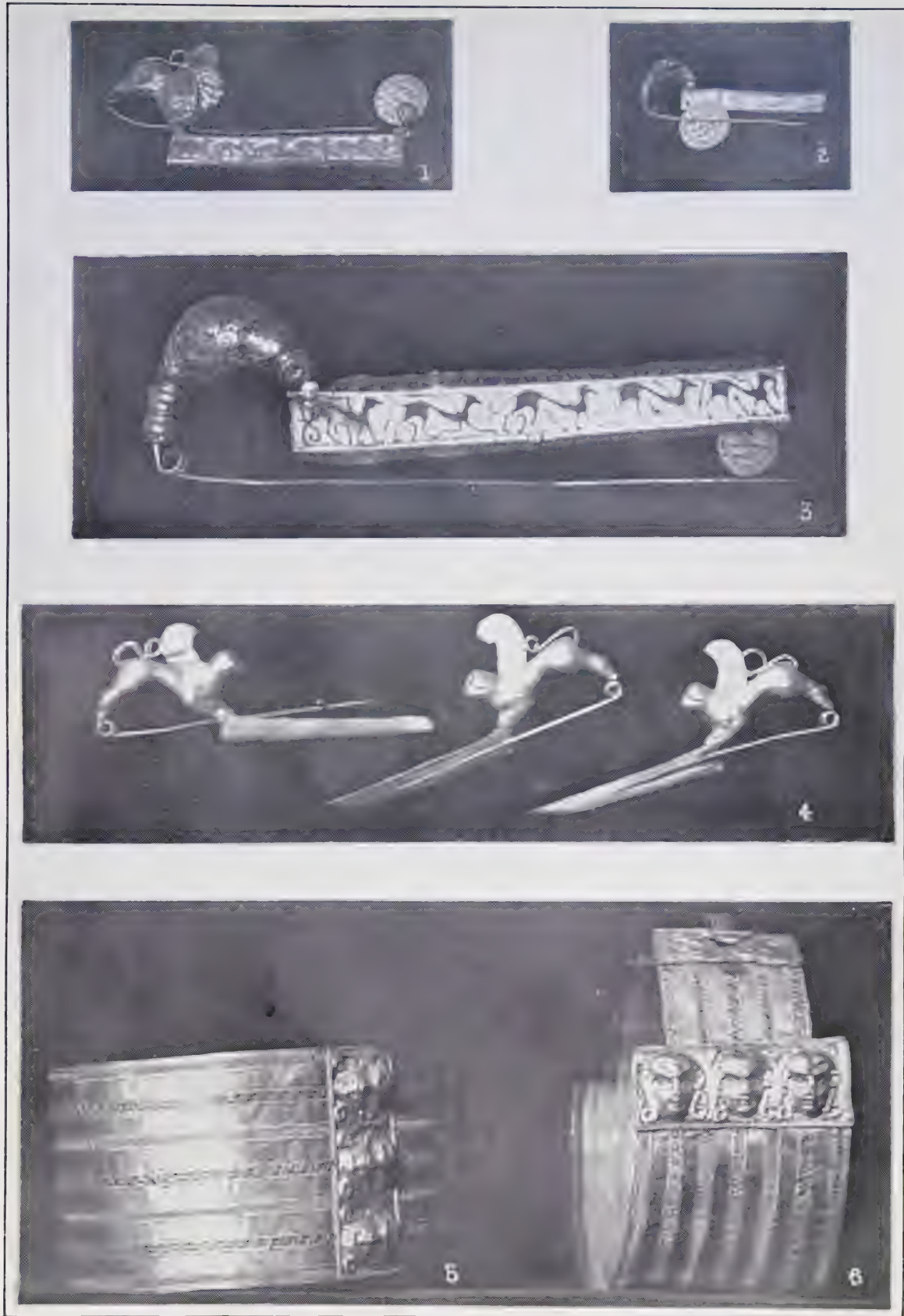
No. 4. Bracelet of filigree similar to the last, except that the masks and figures are replaced by a decorative motive of crescents and bosses ; op. cit., vol. ii, p. 107.

No. 5. The end of a gold bracelet similar to the last, which terminates in three full-length female figures in repoussé ; op. cit., vol. ii, p. 107.

Scale of all is about $\frac{11}{12}$.



VETULONIA. Gold Ornaments from the Tomba del Littore or Lictor's Tomb



VETULONIA. Gold Ornaments from Lictor's Tomb and Le Migliarino



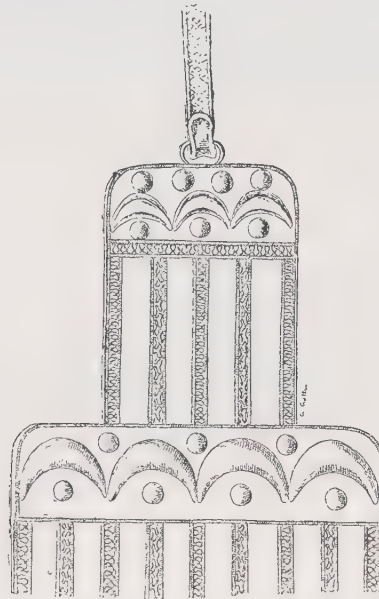
1



2



3



4



5

VETULONIA. Gold Ornaments from the Tumulus of La Pietrera

27. THE MAUSOLEUM OF LA PIETRERA

A description of the discoveries at Vetulonia would not be complete without a brief account of the great Mound of La Pietrera. On pp. 147-150 we have described the trench-tombs which were cut at intervals in the layer of earth covering the cairn ; but, rich as these tombs seem to us, they must have been unimportant compared to the great architectural monument below them. The mound is an enormous artificial mass of earth and stones 64 metres in diameter and 14 metres in height. Falchi tunnelled into it and found the centre to be occupied by two buildings of massive masonry, of which the higher was constructed on the ruins of the lower. It is a question of some difficulty whether the two were built almost contemporaneously or whether there was a considerable interval of time between them. The lower building was a square chamber with sides 5 metres long, constructed of granite blocks so exactly adjusted that the lines of junction were scarcely discernible. In the centre was a tapering four-sided pillar, evidently the support of a roof which is surmised from the shape of the wedge-shaped blocks to have been some kind of a vault.¹ This very feature may perhaps explain the ruin, as the vault may have been the premature effort of an ambitious architect to dispense with the clumsy process of corbelling, an effort which failed because the principle of the vault had not been perfectly mastered. It may then be quite significant that the innovation was rejected by the builder of the upper chamber, who not only used a harder, stronger stone, but also returned to the simple and primitive method of roofing with a succession of overlapping courses, which begin at 3.70 metres above the new floor. There is no evidence to show whether the lower chamber was ever used, but in any case after the collapse of the vault the ruined mass was levelled off at a height of 2.90 metres from the ground and new walls were built precisely over the old. These enclosed a chamber of the same plan and dimensions as the first, approached by a passage 1.10 metre wide and 1.75 metre high.

In the passage leading into the lower building were found two fragments of stone statues, and in the lower chamber itself were fragments of a cornice, which may be taken to prove at least an intention to decorate it with sculpture and architectural ornament. That the upper chamber was actually decorated with statues is demonstrated by the fragments found in and near it, corresponding to at least four human figures, all female, including one head. It has been suggested that one statue was assigned to each of the four stone funerary benches,

¹ See, however, the foot-note to p. 253.

of which one was found complete and the others in fragments. Besides these human figures there were stone fragments in relief of a long-tailed horse and a maned lion, as well as a small stone column (0.85 metre high and 0.18 metre in diameter) carved in relief with a pair of rampant beasts optimistically classified as 'lions'. The entrance from the passage to the chamber of the upper building was closed by a very heavy door, originally surmounted by an architrave, and on either side of the passage in front of this door was a small square chamber 2.40 metres high. On the exterior of the mound the beginning of the passage may have been marked by architectural features, as the fragment of a capital was found close to this point.

The fragments of statues are not only interesting as the earliest examples of Etruscan sculpture in stone but are very valuable for purposes of dating. In style they clearly antedate any direct Hellenic influence and show the character of native archaic art. There is no perceptible difference between those that come from below the level of the upper building and those that were found within it; a fact which should dispose of any attempt to argue that there may have been a long period of time between the two structures. It has been remarked (pp. 149 and 150) that the sculptured figures from the mausoleum are wearing ornaments identical with the actual gold and silver work found in the adjoining trench-graves, which proves the graves on the surface of the mound to be practically contemporary with the buildings inside it. Finally, as we have shown ground for believing that the goldsmiths' work of these trench-graves is almost the latest development of Vetulonian art, it will follow that the mausoleum of La Pietrera cannot be dated much earlier than 700 B. C., though there is no reason to put it appreciably later than this.¹

¹ Falchi, *Vetulonia*, p. 205; *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 143 and p. 496; *Not. Sc.* 1894, p. 335; Mont., Plates 199, 200.

VI

SITES CONTEMPORARY WITH ETRUSCAN VETULONIA

THAT Vetulonia has a unique value for the archaeologist is due primarily and above all to the excellence of the explorer's work upon that site. Falchi's full and careful account of his excavations has given us a more complete and trustworthy record than we possess of any other Etruscan necropolis of the same antiquity. Other places may be more famous, and to the general reader perhaps more attractive, but again and again it will be necessary to return to the evidence obtained from this obscure and long-forgotten site as forming the very backbone of any systematic treatment of the earliest Etruscan period. Hitherto no adequate use has been made of this abundant material; writers on the Regolini-Galassi or Bernardini tombs quote the Tomba del Duce with all the freedom of familiarity, but they seldom refer to the equally valuable arguments derivable from a score of other tombs which have been described in the last chapter. Nevertheless it must be appreciated that these others form a reciprocally illustrative series, of which the Prince's Tomb is only one, and perhaps not even the most important, member. Thanks to the care of Falchi and his assistants Vetulonia can be studied as a whole with all the combinations, repetitions, and variations of its material; and it is the conviction that it ought to be so studied which has led us to allot more space to it than will be allotted to any other site of the same period. The famous Etruscan hoards which have enriched great museums in Italy and other countries have generally been unearthed by fortune seekers who had neither the skill nor the interest to furnish an adequate report, and who undoubtedly destroyed many objects which they considered unmarketable. On other sites again where too much liberty was allowed to local initiative the trained observer has sometimes only appeared in time to view a medley of confused objects, and to glean a few details of second-hand information. Vetulonia stands as a beacon amongst these uncertain lights.

The museum authorities in Florence have from the first appreciated the full importance of this collection. In the four rooms, inadequate though the space is, which have been assigned to Vetulonia in the Museo Archeologico, every tomb is exhibited as a complete and separate group. The student is not confronted with that familiar and heart-breaking spectacle of a gallery furnished as if it

were a drawing-room with selected decorative pieces, such a gallery as forms the happy hunting-ground of a certain type of art-historian. Nor is he compelled for want of a better logical instrument to employ an uncontrolled system of typology, a Delphic method which has undoubtedly led to valuable results in the hands of great masters but has often proved treacherous when tested by actual records. No trustworthy foundation of archaeological knowledge can be laid except upon the evidence of groups found together; and until a sufficient number of tomb groups has been exhaustively analysed and compared it is premature, if not actually useless, to compose synthetic histories and to weave far-reaching theories of origin and influence.

Completeness, however, is not the only value of Vetulonia as a touchstone for other sites; its limited chronological range is also very useful inasmuch as it enables us to study the *early* Etruscans uncontaminated by later influences. Here we can detect the newly arrived strangers at the very moment of their settlement among the Villanovans, and can follow all the phases of their development through a definite period, at the end of which they disappeared from the scene as abruptly as they arrived. It has been thought that the city may have been actually abandoned before the end of the seventh century. However this may be—and perhaps it would be more prudent to leave open the question whether parts still unexplored may not conceal the traces of more prolonged habitation—it is certain that none of the graves within the area described in the last chapter come down to the times of direct contact with the Greeks. The chronology of Etruscan sites is based primarily, as all students are aware, on the occurrence or absence of Greek products, especially pottery, the dates of which are already known in the country of their origin. The Etruscan colony at Bologna is characterized by red-figured vases and there are only a very few of the black-figured. From this it is inferred that the colony was not founded before the end of the sixth century. On many other sites black-figured Attic vases occur duly preceding the red in the expected order. Now the date of the earliest black-figured vases is known to be the early years of the sixth century. Before them come the equally familiar vases made in Corinth with orientalizing designs of fantastic animals for which, as they precede the Attic, a certain interval must be allowed. It is clear then that any site from which not only Attic but also Corinthian vases are completely absent must be earlier than say 650 B. C. At Vetulonia no Attic or Corinthian vases were found in the circle-graves or the trench-graves which were included with them in the last chapter, so that it should be considered beyond all reasonable possibility of dispute that these graves are at least earlier than the middle of the seventh century. This will prove to be a very valuable point when the date of the Bernardini and

Regolini-Galassi tombs has to be decided, for every writer has pointed out the close relationship that these bear to the Tomba del Duce.

Next, having obtained an approximate lower limit, which it may be possible to define even more closely after considering certain evidence from Corneto, it remains to find the upper limit for the dating of the circle-graves. Here no direct argument is available ; at present there are no dateable objects among the foreign imports, and there would seem to be no possible method except that of dead-reckoning from the lower limit. How many years then, or how many generations, is it reasonable to assign to the evolution of art and industry between the Circle of the Bracelets, and the graves of Franchetta or Le Migliarine ? That there is a distinct evolution is proved by the progressive development of the goldsmiths' work ; but the period cannot be long. Any one who analyses the contents of the circle-graves will find such constant repetitions and resemblances as must convince him that there cannot be more than a few generations between the first and the last of the series. And again the comparatively small number of the graves, even if ample allowance be made for those which must have been ruined and lost, points in the same direction. Unless the Etruscans formed an extraordinarily small community, or a ruling aristocracy composed only of a few families, their burials in a century or two must have greatly exceeded the total number observed on this site. Without dogmatizing therefore where dogmatism is impossible, we would suggest that 150 years is a fair and reasonable allowance for the total lapse of time from the Foreigner's Tomb, which represents the earliest stage, to the Franchetta and Le Migliarine which belong to the latest. If this reasoning be accepted it would follow that the Etruscans settled at Vetulonia in the ninth century, probably nearer the end than the beginning of it, and disappeared, at least from that part of the site which has been examined between 700 and 650 B. C. For present purposes therefore we shall define *the Vetulonian period* of the *Etruscans* as from 850 to 700 B. C.¹ It is a period which is represented on various other sites, but never, except at Marsiliana, with such completeness and precise definition as at Vetulonia itself. At Corneto, Veii, Falerii, and other Etruscan centres, which begin in the same way with a Villanovan substructure, occupation generally continues down to advanced Greek times, so that a process of selection is needed in order to isolate the *early* Etruscan as a distinct stage. And at none of these other places is the independent native character of the early civilization so strongly marked. Vetulonia undoubtedly traded freely with the outside world and received many articles of commerce from the Aegean and the near East,

¹ For the conclusion to Chapter VII will show that the lowest limit for the Vetulonian circles is actually nearer to 700 than to 650 B.C.

but its art and manufactures remained emphatically individual and original. The bronzes and gold work show the consistent and well-related development of a perfect series; which proves that they are the product of a single local school, and not mere imitations of spasmodically imported foreign models. Such models will be found at Praeneste and Caere, but at Vetulonia there is scarcely more than one, the silver cup (Fig. 30) engraved with winged monsters and birds in the 'Tomb of the Prince'.

Corneto. The Warrior's Tomb

If the earlier excavations at Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii, had been carried out with proper care, and the results adequately recorded there might have been very close and useful parallels to be drawn from that site. The Vetulonian period is unquestionably represented there, and probably by a considerable number of cases; but owing to the neglect of observations and the failure to keep tomb-groups distinct this valuable opportunity has been lost—perhaps for ever. Intent on opening up their interesting painted tombs of the Greek period the local authorities in the years 1876 to 1896 omitted to pay any attention to earlier times, and though two bright spots in the darkness are marked by the reports of Ghirardini and Pasqui (*Not. Sc.*, 1881, 1882, 1885) they help but little to illuminate the particular subject which we are now studying. For Ghirardini's article is principally taken up by the Villanovan *pozzetti*, while Pasqui evidently arrived only in time to bring some small amount of system into the chaos produced by the local antiquaries.¹ Under these circumstances only two Tarquinian tombs are of first-rate importance for the study of this period. They are the tomb of the Warrior, of which the contents are in Berlin, and the tomb in the Corneto museum which we shall call the 'Bocchoris Tomb' from the Egyptian faience vase found in it.

Circle-graves do not occur at Corneto, where the Villanovan *pozzetti* are immediately succeeded by plain trenches. In some of these *fosse* the body was laid direct on the ground, in others it was enclosed within a stone sarcophagus. The Warrior's Tomb, found by private persons on their own land in 1869, was of the latter kind. When the lid of the sarcophagus was broken open the burial was seen to be intact, viz. a skeleton which is said to have soon fallen into dust, surrounded by a complete equipment of weapons and ornaments.² Some of these, such as a semi-lunar bronze razor, bronze axes with wide-splaying blades, a bow-fibula of bronze threaded with discs of bone and amber,

¹ The admirably recorded excavations of Villanovan cemeteries at Corneto published in *Not. Sc.* 1907 have been duly utilized in a preceding chapter (pp. 42–51).

² For a description of the discovery see Helbig in *Bull. Inst.* 1869, pp. 258–60.

and a bronze urn like those of the second Benacci period in the Bolognese, are more characteristic of the Villanovan than of the Etruscan culture. The remainder, except for the pottery which is of a markedly individual class unknown at Vetulonia, might equally well have been found in any of the circle-graves of that site. It is clear then that the Warrior's grave belongs to the beginning of the Vetulonian period and Montelius, who makes it the typical example of his 'Second Iron Period', considers it to be older than all but one or two of the circle-graves. We shall show, however, that close parallels are furnished to the various objects by several circle-graves widely distributed over the area of the entire cemetery, which is yet another argument in favour of the comparative shortness of the Vetulonian period. The official record of the tomb is given by Helbig in *Annali di corrispondenza archeologica* for the year 1874 (pp. 249-66) and illustrated in the accompanying volume of the *Monumenti inediti* (vol. x, plates x to xd). It will be more convenient, however, to describe the objects in the order in which they are published by Montelius in *Civ. Prim.*, Plates 286-90. In Plate 286, nos. 1 and 3 are bronze bosses, possibly belonging to a horse's harness. No. 2 is a bronze necklace very similar to one in the Circle of Mut (cf. Fig. 34). The fibulae are interesting, no. 4 being bronze with a body in the form of an animal, no. 5 a plain bronze bow threaded with discs of amber and ivory, no. 6 a bronze mignatta engraved with circles and hatched lines. No. 7 is a fine example, made in silver with a body of gold filigree, very similar in style and technique to the bronze and silver fibula of the first Sagrona trench-grave (cf. Fig. 50). Another parallel is afforded by no. 10, a gold double-mignatta fibula precisely like the examples from the Twin Circles and from Acquastrini (Figs. 27, 54). The bronze mignatta fibulae nos. 8 and 9 are peculiar, the former in having an iron ring threaded on it, the latter in being covered with a little bronze mushroom halfway down. No. 11 is a silver ring with an ornamental Egyptian scarab of green glaze like one found in the Circle of the Bracelets. No. 12 shows very small glass and amber beads; no. 13 a small spiral of bronze wire which probably bound the haft of a weapon to its handle.

Plate 287 shows the weapons, offensive and defensive. Nos. 2 and 4 are two bronze axe-heads of a type which is very primitive for early Etruscan; they are of different sizes, and there is no reason to suppose, as Helbig does, that they formed a double-headed axe. No. 3 is a bronze shoulder-piece lined with linen. No. 5 is a fine bronze spear-head, of which no. 7 is the long bronze butt. No. 6 is a shield made out of a thin sheet of hammered bronze with an ornamental design of circles arranged in several zones; it is too weak to have served for actual use even if lined with leather and was probably only for parade, it should be compared with the shield shown in Plate 22 from the Prince's Tomb. Montelius

does not illustrate a very fine iron dagger, 0.25 metre long, the handle of which is inlaid with ivory attached to it by a bronze ring and whipped with silver wire.

In Plate 288, no. 1 is a pair of bronze hooks, no. 2 a bronze eye which matches them, no. 3 the fragment of a wooden bâton lightly carved with circles and lines. No. 4 is a bronze knife round the tang of which are an ivory ring and an amber ring; no. 5 a bronze spacer for the strings of some ornament. No. 6 is a fragment of leather studded with bronze, possibly belonging to the bronze shoulder-piece; nos. 8 and 11 are fragments of wood studded with bronze belonging to some object of unknown use. Of the bronze bracelets one, no. 9, is of the commonplace annular kind, no. 7 is of the overlapping type incised with vertical lines; no. 10 is an overlapping bracelet with knobbed ends exactly like one in the Tomb of the Three Boats (see Mont., Plate 198, no. 14). No. 12 is a bronze razor of Villanovan type, like one found in the third Sagrona trench-grave. No. 13 is a very interesting specimen, a plate of thin gold ornamented all over with a repoussé design of simple style, recalling the earlier gold work of Vetulonia but not exactly resembling any piece from there. The gold had been hammered on to a plaque of bronze and doubtless formed a pectoral. The field of design is divided by a St. Andrew's cross, the points of which run to each corner; and on this cross five small circles are set in the form of a quincunx. Irrespective of the diagonals of the cross and drawn as if to appear underneath them, a series of concentric quadrilateral zones fills the whole surface, each zone with its particular representation either of a row of ducks, a line of crescents or a series of volutes. The nearest equivalent to this piece at Vetulonia is the plaque in the Foreigner's Tomb, but the Cornetan pectoral is much more elaborate. No 14 is one of three wooden cups; the first of which was incised as shown here, while the second and third were ornamented with bronze studs in concentric circles. Nos. 15 and 17 are bronze open-work discs, probably from harness; and no. 16 is a plain bronze horse-bit of the simpler kind.

The most important pieces in Montelius's Plate 289 are reproduced in our Plate 30, nos. 2, 5, 6, 9, and 11. Of these the most unexpected and interesting is no. 11, which precisely reproduces the form of the bronze ossuaries found in the Villanovan cemeteries of the Bolognese during the Second Benacci period; it can however be almost paralleled by two examples found in the first and second Circles of Le Pelliccie (see Fig. 47). The other bronze vase, no. 6, with the globular body is also very similar to a type found in the second Circle of Le Pelliccie (cf. Plate 24). A bronze flask, no. 9, the shape of which is derived originally from the Egyptian 'pilgrim-flasks', has a parallel in the Circle of the Silver Necklace (cf. Fig. 42). Nos. 2 and 5 of Plate 30, the former in silver, and the latter in bronze, are exceedingly simple forms derived probably from

pottery originals. In Montelius, Plate 289, can be seen also two small bronze basins (nos. 1 and 4) ornamented with a single row of bosses and another silver cup a trifle less simple than the one we have illustrated, as well as a silver platter (no. 9) ornamented with incised geometrical designs. A white glass bead and a blue glass bead are mentioned in the original account, but there does not seem to have been any of the parti-coloured glass which generally occurs in this period.

The pottery of the Warrior's Tomb at Corneto (Plate 30, nos. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10) belongs to a class which is wholly unrepresented at Vetulonia except by one or two simple examples in the Tomb of the Prince. These were painted merely with bands of red on the yellow surface of the clay; but in the Warrior's Tomb the designs on the ten pieces of decorated ware include not only lines, triangles, hatched lozenges, and circles, but also rows of ducks; a motive quite familiar in Greek geometric, but exceedingly rare in Etruscan tombs. This ware occurs, as already remarked, on several other sites of approximately the same date, and will be more fully discussed in a later section (pp. 175-7).

Obviously contemporary with the Warrior's Tomb are eight trench-graves at Corneto described by Ghirardini in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1882 (pp. 191-205) and one which he found in the preceding year (*Not. Sc.* 1881, p. 362). They are all of the inhumation rite, some furnished with plain sarcophagi of stone and some without. In the first, together with a semi-lunar razor, an armlet, and some plain rings of bronze, was a fantastic vase in the form of a horned animal very similar in style to the animal vase of the Warrior's Tomb but made of black bucchero instead of the imported yellow ware. The second and fourth had wide-splaying bronze axes, while the seventh had not only a ribbon-handled bronze cup but also two of the curious wooden cups studded with bronze bosses which were particularly observed in the Warrior's Tomb.¹ In the fourth, sixth, and eighth, as well as in the child's grave of the year 1881, there were plaques or discs of gold leaf ornamented with repoussé geometrical designs of lines, bosses, circles, and in one instance a swastika. Other objects were necklaces of bronze chain work with bronze pendants, numerous bronze fibulae of the simpler forms (especially the plain bow), spiral bronze armlets, circular bronze armlets, glass beads white and coloured, and scarabs (not genuinely Egyptian) of blue glaze with representations of fantastic animals.² The seventh tomb, which was the richest of the group, contained also two gold spiral ear-rings, a small gold bow-fibula, two bronze fibulae threaded with chunks of amber separated by slices of ivory, tubes of gold, and pendants of amber for necklaces, four rings of silver

¹ The bronze cup and the wooden cup are figured in Mont., Plate 285, nos. 23 and 21.

² Figured in Mont., Plate 285, nos. 6, 9, 10, 12, and 13.

wire, a bronze knife, and a plain bronze situla. In none of the nine graves was there any of the imported pottery, the only variation from the normal black ware being a plain red vase in the seventh tomb. This group of tombs was found on a part of the Corneto site called the 'Arcatelle' and represents, as Ghirardini rightly points out, the exact moment when the new foreign population was beginning to implant itself among the native Villanovans. It is the same moment that has been observed at Vetulonia in the graves which Falchi called 'foreign deposits', of which the most notable was the 'Foreigner's Grave'.

To the same stage in the Vetulonian period as the Warrior's Tomb may also be assigned a grave described in *Bull. Inst.*, 1874, p. 54,¹ and a grave of which the contents are illustrated in Montelius, Plate 291, nos. 6-13.²

Corneto. The Bocchoris Tomb

The Bocchoris Tomb. The second great landmark among the discoveries at Corneto is at least three generations later than the Warrior's Tomb. It is named from the unique object discovered in it, a faience vase inscribed with the cartouche of the Egyptian king Boken-ranf, who was known to the Greek historians as Bocchoris. The vase (Plate 31, no. 10), which is in the local museum at Corneto together with the other contents of the grave, was published with a description by Schiaparelli³ on which we base the following remarks. It is made of the usual quartz-frit which is the material of 'Egyptian faience', covered with a coating of blue glaze of very light tint. Three rows of decorative border at the top and one at the bottom enclose two zones of figures in low relief. In the upper zone the field is divided into two parts by a vertical inscription in hieroglyphs which reads 'Uahkara son of the sun Boken-ranf giver of life for ever'. On the right and left of the inscription are two scenes, each of religious character, separated from one another by four open flowers of lotus character. The scene on the right represents the king, attended by the goddess Neit who stands behind him, rendering homage to Horus. In the scene on the left the king is between Horus and Thoth, who are each leading him by the hand while a hawk hovers above. Flowers form a background to each scene. The lower zone is occupied by a scene which must be interpreted as the triumph of the Egyptian monarch over Soudanese negroes. Diodorus has given an account of the Pharaoh whom he names Bocchoris. He describes him as the successor of Tafnekt, the Saitic prince who started to organize Lower Egypt but came into conflict with Piankhi

¹ Summarized in Mont., *Vorklassische Chronologie*, p. 70, no. 376.

² Described in *Not. Sc.* 1885, p. 467, and sum-

marized by Mont., *Vorklass. Chron.*, p. 71, no. 384.

³ *Mon. Ant.*, vol. viii, cols. 91-100, and Plate 2.

the Ethiopian. Tafnekt was defeated by Piankhi, but as soon as the latter returned to Nubia began to recover lost ground, and dying a few years later bequeathed his newly won territory to his son Boken-ranf. The new king continued his father's success to such good purpose that he was able to assume the title of ruler of Upper as well as of Lower Egypt. He founded the twenty-fourth dynasty, of which he was destined to be the only representative, which had its seat at Sais. His good fortune, however, was short-lived, for in 728 B. C., after a reign of only six years, he was attacked and defeated by the Ethiopian Shabaka.

These historical events enable us to date the manufacture of the faience vase almost to a year. It cannot have been made before 734, and it would be absurd to suppose that Bocchoris would be represented as triumphing over the negroes at any date later than 728 when he was captured and burned alive by his conqueror. The date of manufacture must, therefore, be as nearly as possible 730 B. C., and the date at which the vase was buried in an Etruscan grave at Corneto may reasonably be put between 730 and 690 B. C.¹

Schiaparelli denies for several reasons that the vase can have been actually manufactured in Egypt. There is a lack of precision, and cleanness in the execution alike of the figures, and of the inscription, there are mannerisms in the modelling of the bodies, and misinterpretations of decorative elements, which suggest the hand of a copyist. The choice and the combination of subjects is very strange to find upon any vase; in the one zone such religious scenes as are proper to a temple liturgy, in the other a picture of subject peoples which suggests but does not imitate the boastings of a triumphal stele. Possibly the foreign artist was working from memory and combined several elements from models that he had once seen in Egypt. It is interesting, however, to observe that he has put in the correct deities, and that Neit the protector of Sais has her exactly appropriate place; these are points which show that the vase is a contemporary product and not a later imitation. Schiaparelli hazards the ingenious suggestion that it may have formed part of the presents sent by some Phoenician magnate to the Egyptian king in the days of his prosperity. Or again, we may suggest, it might be the comparatively cheap and popular edition for general distribution of some famous original in gold or silver executed by the best craftsmen of the period.²

¹ Allowing that the owner of the vase may have been young when he received it, and lived to a fair age, the latest date for its burial would be about 690 B. C. This much concession is made to scholars of that school who profess to believe it more 'scientific' to bring all archaeological dating down to the lowest possible antiquity. But if this unreasoning prejudice be put aside it is obvious that there is just as good a case for putting the

date near 730 B. C. That objects of this nature were passed on to successors and buried with some one later than their original owner I have never seen any reason to believe; the whole experience of excavators is against such a view.

² In spite of Schiaparelli's opinion I incline to the view which is held by some other archaeologists that the vase was actually manufactured in Egypt.

For the purpose of dating the grave in which it was found the vase executed in honour of Bocchoris is priceless. It fixes the pottery and gold work which were associated with it to the year 710 B. C., with a possible error plus or minus of only twenty years. These objects are shown in our Plate 31, and Figs. 57, 58, with the exception of a two-handled olla of black ware, two little faience pendants, and an animal-fibula, none of which are distinctive enough to be important. The bronze handle shown in Fig. 57 deserves special remark. It looks like a piece of Vetulonian bronze work, and can be exactly paralleled from a Cerrecchio circle at Vetulonia (Mont., Plate 179, no. 7). Of the other pieces of gold work it can be observed at once that nos. 1 and 2 bear an exceedingly close resemblance to some of the gold work of the famous Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere (see below, p. 200). The row of animals with back-turned heads is almost identical with a row of animals in the great gold pectoral shown in Plate 36, no. 1, and the palmetto ornament is also identical. The gold was thin

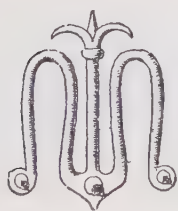


FIG. 57. Handle of a bronze vase. From Montelius, Plate 295. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

sheet put on to a backing of bronze, no. 1 being probably a pectoral, while no. 2 and other similar pieces may have formed a necklace. Some of the little plaques of gold were perforated with holes at the edge as if for sewing on to the material of a dress.¹ The contrast of the goldsmith's work with that of Vetulonia is very apparent, these are the products of a wholly different school, perhaps actually importations from abroad.

It is recorded that numerous fragments of hammered bronze vases were found, but as no attempt was made to reconstitute them it is impossible to describe their shape. The pair of handles of which one is shown in Fig. 57 must have belonged to a large piece, perhaps to a globular-bodied vase like those of Vetulonia. The only intact bronze objects were a plain head-pin, portions of a chain of small links, and several fibulae peculiar in having the body formed in the shape of an animal.

The types of two of these fibulae resemble those shown in Montelius, *Series A*, Plate 7, nos. 75 and 78; a third has a body in the form of a horse with a monkey mounted upon it.

Fragments were found of two wooden cups studded with bronze nails, a type which occurred also in the Warrior's Tomb (cf. p. 160.)

The pottery is quite peculiar, and unfortunately offers few points of comparison with the specimens from any other known tombs. There are one or two pieces of rough handmade fabrics; but the high stand and fluted bowl shown in no. 9 mark a very advanced stage of the potter's art, they are of a handsome

¹ These specimens seem to be no longer accessible for study so that we are obliged to rely on the rather perfunctory account of them in *Not. Sc.* 1896, p. 15.

red ware made on the wheel, and very well baked ; the little chain of pottery links shows that the stand was copied from a metal prototype. A second stand and bowl are mentioned in the report, and may probably be identified with an example in the Corneto museum of style and workmanship similar to no. 9. The bowl is covered with a brown-black varnish on which there are paintings in red of which the detail is scarcely discernible. Helbig detected in them the figures of five warriors on foot armed with shields and crested helmets. The bowl had a lid of which the handle was formed by the moulded figure of a nude man lying on his back supported by his arched legs and arms.

The fluted jug in Plate 31, no. 5, is made of a grey clay covered with a brown-black varnish ; the flagon Fig. 58 is of a reddish-yellow clay covered with a red haematitic slip, the ribs on it are very emphatic being half a centimetre or more in depth ; the handle, which is not well shown in the illustration, is a flat band increasing in width from about two and a half centimetres at the top to six at the base. These and all the other examples of pottery shown in the Plate are wheelmade. No. 6 is a unique specimen without any parallel among the early Etruscan types ; the clay is the same as that of the flagon just described but it is covered with a slip of reddish yellow on which the geometrical decoration is painted in white ; the handle is a broad flat band like the handle of the flagon, increasing in width from about six centimetres at the top to ten at the bottom.

Nos. 7 and 8 are unique examples of another style, the former decorated with waves and triangles, and the latter with rude figures of animals in a blackish medium on a yellowish grey ground.

The complete absence of any proto-Corinthian ware in a tomb which is distinctly characterized by the taste for foreign products is symptomatic and quite consistent with the date ascribed. The construction of the tomb is also characteristic of the period ; it is not a simple trench nor yet a fully developed ' chamber ' (*camera*) of the kind which is prevalent half a century later, but an early type of chamber with a midrib to the roof, *tetto a schiena*.¹

¹ *Not. Sc.* 1896, p. 15.

NOTE.—This chapter had been long completed and the whole book was almost ready for publication before I was able to obtain Band xlv of the *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Ath. Abt.)*, in which there is an important and valuable article by Karo on *Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit*. But for this accident a larger amount of space would have been given to considering the views of so experienced a scholar. The first three



FIG. 58. Pottery flagon. From Montelius, Plate 295. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

sections of Karo's article deal with the chronology of the Vetulonian and Cornetan tombs, as well as with the Regolini-Galassi. There are many points of general agreement, but some of marked difference, between his conclusions and my own. As against Montelius we are both agreed in making the period of the circle-graves short, viz. only a few generations. Karo evidently inclines, however, to make the period not only a little shorter but also a little later than I make it. Similarly, whereas

we are agreed as to the relative place which the Warrior's Tomb of Corneto should occupy in the chronological series, Karo seems to put its absolute date a good deal later than I put it. In regard to the pozzetti we draw totally different conclusions from the same premisses. On this matter I adhere uncompromisingly to what I have written in the text. When Karo says that 'tausend von ihnen stellen eine einzige Generation eines kleinen Gemeinwesens dar', it is quite evident that he has never attempted to obtain actual statistics for purposes of comparison. About 1900, when excavating in Egypt, I made all possible inquiries as to the average death-rate in the small villages of Upper Egypt. It was impossible to obtain exact figures and percentages but enough information was supplied to impress me with a very clear opinion that only a few hundred burials represented

a century in any average little village. At this rate even Karo's thousand pozzetti would correspond to two or three hundred years; for most archaeologists are agreed that the early Villanovan settlements were very small *pagi*.

The same reasoning applies, though not quite so forcibly, to the circle-graves, for it is impossible to conceive of the first Etruscan settlement at Vetulonia as a large city comparable to the Caere or Tarquinii of the fifth century. Twenty families is really not an unlikely figure for it and on that basis I would rather give 150 than 100 years as the duration of the Etruscan period at Vetulonia. A suggestive parallel in smallness to the Etruscan aristocracy may perhaps be drawn from the mediaeval history of Venice, where the original nobility consisted of only twenty-four families.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 30, 31

PLATE 30. CORNETO. *Tomb of the Warrior*. From the drawings given by Montelius in *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 287, 289, 290, after the original publications in *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, vol. x.

No. 1. Jug of painted pottery, scale $\frac{4}{5}$. No. 2, silver cup, scale $\frac{2}{7}$; no. 3, painted pottery bowl, scale $\frac{1}{3}$; no. 4, painted pottery plate, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 5, bronze cup, scale $\frac{2}{7}$; no. 6, bronze hydria, scale $\frac{1}{8}$; no. 7, painted pottery bowl, scale $\frac{2}{8}$; no. 8, painted pottery, scale $\frac{3}{10}$; no. 9, bronze flask decorated with bosses, scale $\frac{1}{8}$; no. 10, painted pottery, scale $\frac{3}{11}$; no. 11, tall bronze vessel with some engraved ornament just above the centre, scale $\frac{1}{7}$; no. 12, bronze, scale $\frac{2}{15}$.

PLATE 31. CORNETO. *The Bocchoris Tomb*. From the drawings in Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plate 295, which are all original except no. 10, derived from *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. viii.

No. 1. Part of a quadrangular plaque of gold ornamented in zones with designs and figures of animals in repoussé; scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

No. 2. Heart-shaped gold pendant ornamented with designs in repoussé; scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

No. 3. Small quadrangular gold plaque with simple ornamentation in repoussé; scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

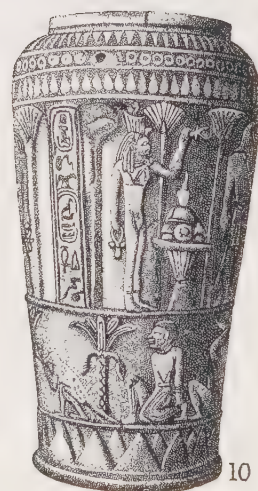
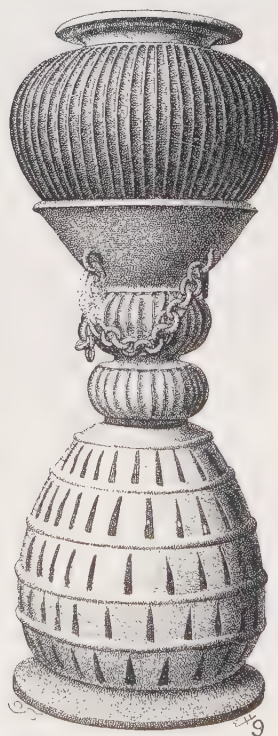
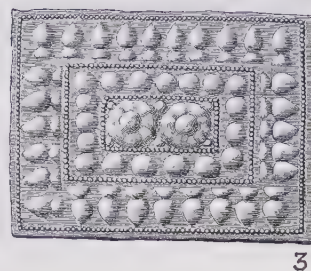
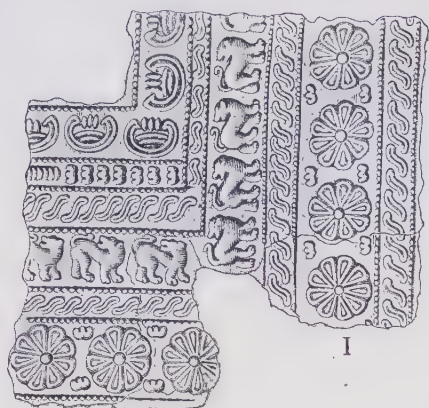
No. 4. Small rectangular plaque of gold ornamented in repoussé with a female figure between two sphinxes. Full size.

No. 5. Pottery jug, scale $\frac{1}{5}$. No. 6, painted pottery jug of unique shape, scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Nos. 7 and 8, painted pottery with unusual designs showing foreign influence; scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 9. Stand and bowl of red ware; scale $\frac{1}{10}$. No. 10, vase of blue faience, either manufactured in Egypt or in very close imitation of Egyptian models; scale not quite $\frac{1}{4}$. The inscription contains the name of the Egyptian king, Boken-ranf, who reigned from 734-728 B. C.



CORNETO. Tomb of the Warrior



CORNETO. The Bocchoris Tomb

Vetralla

Vetralla lies east of Corneto about six miles from the more famous site of Norchia. It has a special value for the purposes of this chapter, inasmuch as the graves, though comparatively poor, belong almost entirely to a strictly limited period and type.¹ Out of a series of fifty-nine which were examined only three were pozzetti with pottery ossuaries and three were cremation burials of the dolio kind, while at the other end of the scale there were only five camera or other tombs of the late seventh century. All the other burials were in trench-graves, of which there were no less than forty-eight with an immense predominance of the inhumation rite.²

The earliest of the *fosse* at Vetralla may slightly antedate the Warrior's Tomb of Corneto, if the occurrence of a disc-fibula and some other early types is to be accounted as good evidence. If the Foreigner's Tomb at Vetulonia is dated about 850, then the first *fosse* at Vetralla may be put to just about the same time. Others of the *fosse*, however, seem to be exactly contemporary with the Warrior's grave. Among these may be considered in the first place the four tombs which contained the imported pottery of which examples are shown in Plate 33.

In grave 10 was found the handsome vase decorated with circles and bands which is shown in Plate 33, no. 2. It is wheel-made, of a yellow potter's clay on which the ornaments were painted in red. In this grave, which was a trench 2.25 metres long by 1 metre wide, and 1.30 deep there were no remains of any skeleton, but, as there were also no traces of ashes or of an ossuary, it may be assumed that the rite was inhumation. Two copper³ cups with ribbon-handle attached to them by nails are no doubt of the same kind as no. 5 in the plate (Plate 30) of the Warrior's Tomb. The bronze fibulae are of 'sanguisuga' and 'navicella' form, some with incised designs. A small bronze fibula has beads of blue glass threaded on it. Except for a small 'censer' of finer clay the pottery is of the usual primitive manufacture found alike in pozzetti and in trench-graves.

Grave 9 contained the handled jug with a decoration of circles shown in Plate 33, no. 3. With this were the remains of a skeleton with three bronze 'navicella' fibulae incised with geometrical designs, fragments of two necklaces made of thin bronze wire threaded with glass beads, and a bronze armlet with overlapping ends. No other pottery is mentioned.

¹ Described by Colini from records of L. Rossi Danielli in *Not. Sc.* 1914, pp. 297-362.

² In thirty-five of these *fosse* the rite was certainly inhumation, in ten it could not be ascertained, in only three cases was it positively observed to be cremation.

³ The original record of the Vetralla objects gives 'copper'. Otherwise we should have written 'bronze'. Few authors are exact in distinguishing between copper and bronze in their reports so that it is impossible to be at once precise and consistent.

In grave 25, which contained the jug with a simpler decoration of bands without circles shown in Plate 33 no. 1. was a skeleton with a number of objects of well-differentiated character. First among these should be mentioned an iron fibula with a body of three rows of filigree in electrum ; the combination of metals is unusual and interesting, while the type immediately links the whole burial with the Warrior's Grave in which a fibula of the same rare pattern was found (p. 159). Other points of coincidence are furnished by two bronze axes with wide-splaying blades, and a bronze pilgrim-flask of the same shape as that shown in Plate 30, no. 9, but fitted with a swinging handle for attachment. Fragments of a bronze cup probably belonged to a type like Plate 30, no. 5, and there were also a bronze bracelet and a bronze semi-lunar razor. With these four or five examples of identity there are also some points of difference ; a bronze lance is of a different shape from one in the Warrior's Grave, an iron knife (probably curved) finds no parallel there, and the imported vase is not precisely the same either in shape or in decoration. Besides the jug shown in Plate 33, no. 1. there was a vase of white-faced ware decorated with geometrical patterns, similar in shape to no. 2, but with a design of triangles enclosed in squares.

Grave 21 was one of the three *ziro* tombs containing a cremation burial. As such it need not be particularly described since it may be Villanovan rather than Etruscan, but it is worth remarking that the ossuary is not of the usual Villanovan pattern. The two-handled cup shown in Plate 33, no. 4 was found here.

Grave 3 must be exactly contemporary with grave 25 to which it was joined by a cut in the side of the trench. It is important therefore to note that although it is a *fossa* like the others it contained a cremation-burial in a pottery ossuary shaped like a wide-mouthed olla. With this were two small bronze cups or bowls like those found in other graves of this series, and several bronze fibulae, viz. one of 'sanguisuga' and another (engraved) of 'navicella' form, as well as a plain bow-fibula threaded with glass beads, and another with three rudimentary figures of ducks on its back. The pottery was of the ordinary brown-black kind.

Grave 15 contained a skeleton with which were a wide-splaying bronze axe, a bronze spear with polygonal base like the one in the Warrior's Grave, fragments of a bronze pilgrim-flask, a bronze bracelet, and a semi-lunar razor—all objects which clearly mark its period. Unique among the Vetralla graves, but connecting with the Vetulonian series, is a copper basin supported on a tripod of iron rods. Iron is quite abundant at Vetralla, and the same grave contains a curved iron knife. The pottery consists of several specimens of the ordinary country fabric ('impasto italico'), a wheel-made red vase, and two of the geometrical ware ornamented with designs in red.

Grave 27 contained the skeleton of a woman with whom was a fine bronze girdle similar in shape and style to the specimen shown in Fig. 59, but with slightly less elaboration of detail in the repoussé ornament. The panels, circles, and rows of bosses are arranged in exactly the same way but the dog-tooth motive surrounding the circles, and bordering the panels is omitted in this simpler example. Girdles of this kind are found in the Bolognese Villanovan cemeteries (cf. above, pp. 19, 25). The other objects were bronze fibulae, spiral bronze armlets, small tubes of bronze from a necklace, and a small bronze chain attached to the fibulae. The latter were of four forms, viz., the plain bow threaded with beads of blue glass, the enlarged bow, the 'navicella' and the 'sanguisuga'. There were also loose beads of blue glass with yellow and white eyes, fragments

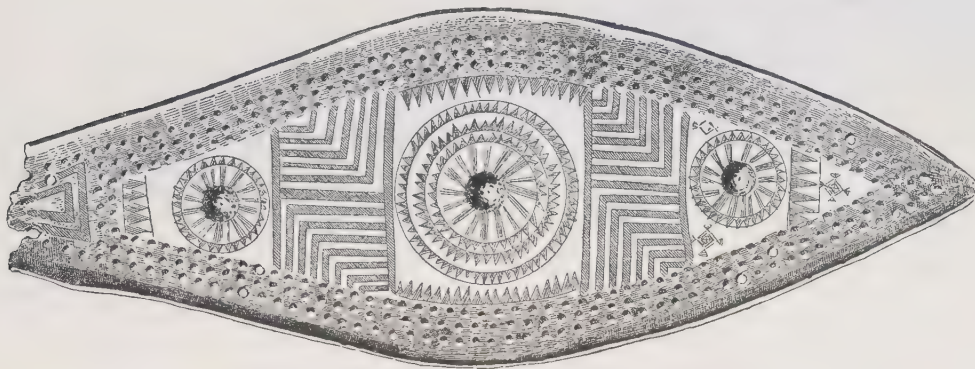


FIG. 59. Bronze girdle of grave 52 at Vetralla. From *Not. Scavi* 1914, fasc. 9, tav. 1. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

of pottery and fragments of bronze. The intact pottery consisted of two or three specimens of the country fabric, and two of the geometric ware.

Grave 40 contained a skeleton, on the body of which were fragments of very fine sheet copper which had probably formed a band sewn over leather or cloth. Another instance of this will be noted in tomb 52. Beside the head was a copper hydria 0.22 metre high, ornamented with simple geometrical patterns in repoussé, of the same general style and character as the example given in Montelius, Plate 283, no. 15. The other metal objects were a bronze axe, three armlets, a wire spiral, fibulae of the sanguisuga and navicella type, and one of the plain bow shape threaded with slices of ivory and amber. There was no geometrical pottery.

Grave 52. This is remarkable for the very fine copper girdle which is reproduced here in Fig. 59. It was found in position on the waist of the skeleton (probably a woman). A few inches higher up the body was a plain copper band like that described in the last grave; ornamented with four rows of bosses in repoussé. Beside the body were a large copper cup 0.15 metre high and 0.22 metre

in diameter with a high foot and ribbon handle, and a small copper cup with similar handle. A long chain of fine bronze links surrounded the head, and fell halfway down to the waist, while the neck was encircled by a necklace of glass beads which were combined in some way with little bronze studs. Across the right arm lay a bronze spindle, and on the same fore-arm was an overlapping bracelet of bronze. Of nine fibulae four were of plain 'sanguisuga' and two of 'navicella' form; two others of 'sanguisuga' form were ornamented with a pair of little birds on the body; the ninth fibula was of the plain bow kind. There was one vase of the geometric class.

The contents of two tombs, nos. 15 and 17, from Vetralla are in the Florence museum. Specimens from the other tombs are in the local museum of Viterbo.

Bisenzio. Site of Le Bucacce

It has been mentioned in Chapter III that with the Villanovan graves at Bisenzio excavated by Ghirardini and Pasqui there were intermingled inhumation graves of the earliest Etruscan period. The main interest of these graves consisted in the new types of pottery which came from them as well as from the pozzetti; and as this pottery has already been sufficiently described it is not necessary to give any further details of the commonplace inhumations of La Palazzetta and S. Bernardino.¹ A very important little group of burials, however, was brought to light in 1910 on the estate known as *Le Bucacce* quite close to the cemetery of La Palazzetta.² Three of the ten graves were Villanovan cremations, containing in one case geometrically-painted pottery but nothing else of interest. Of the remaining seven, all inhumations, five were plain trench-graves, and the other two were furnished with stone coffins. One of the coffins, tomb no. 1, and three of the trench-graves nos. 3, 8, 10, contained pottery and other objects of the greatest possible importance.

In *Tomb 1* which is the least unusual of the four, there were a bronze helmet almost precisely similar to the example from Corneto shown in our Plate 12, a discoidal bronze flask of the type found in the Warrior's Tomb (cf. Plate 30), two bronze situlae with fluted sides, and another bronze situla like that in Montelius, Plate 255, no. 13. With these were an iron dagger like the Vetulonian and Cornetan daggers (cf. Plate 13, nos. 5, 7), a leaf-shaped iron spear, and various iron fragments some of which had evidently belonged to andirons. The pottery consisted of several bowls, jugs, cups, and a peculiar 'stamnos' with

¹ They are mentioned in *Not. Sc.* 1886, pp. 177-205 and 143-50.

² Described by Galli in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxi, cols. 404-98, with illustrations.

horned handles—all in black ware—and of a funnel-footed spherical jar of yellow potter's clay. This, which is covered with a white slip on which bands and latticed chevrons are painted in red, closely resembles the specimen illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 255, no. 11. No mention is made of any fibulae. If it were not for its close proximity to the others this tomb might well be put down as contemporary with Second Benacci, but tombs 3 and 8 are almost, if not quite, as late as the Arnoaldi period.

Tomb 3. This is remarkable for two reasons—its distinctive and characteristic gold jewellery, and its unique pottery, which betrays the most immediate foreign influence. The most important piece among the gold ornaments is a head-band of filigree, closely resembling the gold head-band found in the Arsenal tomb at Bologna which was described on p. 36 and illustrated in Fig. 5. The Bisenzio specimen measures 0.32 metre in length and is illustrated below in Plate 32, no. 5; it differs from the Bolognese head-band only in having two plain discs instead of four human masks to unite the strands of filigree. This piece of gold work then proves that the group of tombs at Le Buccacce very nearly synchronizes with the Arnoaldi period at Bologna.

The synchronism of the group with Etruscan Vetulonia on the other hand is proved by the occurrence in tomb 8 of a filigree fibula of Sagrona type. Both points are of great value for the correct dating of the extraordinarily interesting vase found in tomb 3, which is shown above in Fig. 60. We can say that being of the Vetulonian period the vase undoubtedly belongs to the eighth century B.C., and being so closely associated with the Arnoaldi time it must be near the end of the century.¹ In point of technique the vase is of the same class noted in the other tombs of all kinds at Bisenzio. That is to say it is made of yellow potter's clay coated with a white slip on which



FIG. 60. Dipylonic vase found at Bisenzio. From *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxi, p. 439 and coloured plate. Scale nearly $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹ Some who prefer to rely solely on evidence derived from Greek sources may wish rather to date this Dipylonic vase on its own merits. They

will probably be willing to assign it to some part of the eighth century.

the decorative scheme is painted in red and black. The lowest zone shows a row of schematized human figures, three black alternating with three red, apparently engaged in a dance. Above this and separated from it by a red band is a row of latticed diamonds, alternately red and black. Next comes a wide zone of latticed squares separated by vertical branched stems. Over these again is a second row of latticed diamonds; and finally, under the rim, a band of dog-tooth pattern. The style is suggestive of the late Dipylon school in Greece, and, though the vase is probably an imitation and not an original, yet there can be no doubt that it is directly inspired by the art of a Greek potter.

Further evidence of overseas connexion and influence is furnished by the Egyptian scarabs and Bes figures of glaze, objects which appear at precisely this date in the graves of Vetulonia itself. Six of the scarabs are mounted as turning bezels on oval hoops of gold with a tube above for suspension (Plate 32, no. 6), and two are similarly mounted in silver. They bear no royal names and would not be susceptible of close dating without the evidence of the other objects.

Four small gold fibulae with very big catch-points and a body formed in the navicella shape accentuated by projections in the middle of each side (Plate 32, no. 1) are of a type already known as characteristic of this precise period. Small gold pendants in the form of a human mask, of which eight were found (Plate 32, no. 8), recall the little gold masks on the head-band of the Bologna Arsenal tomb. Three large gold discs worked with maeanders and circles in repoussé (Plate 32, no. 3) no doubt formed the central pieces of a necklace composed of all these various small pieces. And with them were probably strung the small cylinders of amber, glass, and silver, of which many were found scattered in the tomb. Other small ornaments were represented by little rings of gold and of silver, pieces of silver chain, amber beads of various shapes, and bronze fibulae threaded with amber.

That there had been several vessels made of hammered bronze plates was shown by the fragments, among which could be recognized parts of a handled situla, a basin, and a fluted bowl. Of iron there had been the ordinary andirons, and pieces which may have belonged to a censer or a basin on a high stand.

The only piece of pottery made of fine clay was the Dipylonic vase already described, but among the jugs and bowls of ordinary black ware several showed more or less distinct traces of geometrical patterns painted in red upon the black.

Tomb 8. The most important object in this tomb is the fibula made with a framework of iron picked out with filigree in electrum shown in Plate 32, no. 2. Fibulae of exactly similar design were found in graves at Vetulonia (p. 138 and Fig. 50), Narce, and Marsiliana (p. 189 and Plate 35); the type is rare, however,

and probably confined to a short period. The only other personal ornament was a small round bronze disc ornamented with a pattern of schematized ducks between two zones of triangles. It had probably been inlaid originally with small pieces of amber and served as the top of a head-pin. A number of small pieces of bronze and iron seem recognizable as parts of the harness and trappings of a horse. There were also remains of several vessels of hammered bronze, including a basin and a situla, and sheets of repoussé bronze which may have been the sheathing of a chest. The only weapon or implement was a bronze axe with quadrangular cannon-socket. There were no painted vases, merely a few pieces of the ordinary black ware.

Tomb 10. The gold jewellery and the bronze work in this tomb are of most unusual character. Most of the gold ornaments must have formed part of an elaborate necklace, of which the most remarkable pieces are shown in Plate 32, nos. 4 and 7. The latter of these is a bulla 0.048 metre in diameter, made of a stout sheet of gold on which there was fastened in the centre a hemispherical gold stud surmounted by a crescent of amber. Galli interprets these as symbols of the sun and moon and points out that they recur on the bracelets of La Pietrera at Vetulonia (cf. Plate 29, no. 4). A slightly smaller bulla was made of a sheet of silver enclosing a disc of clear quartz-crystal. No. 4 in Plate 32 is one of three gold bullae, 0.060 to 0.067 in diameter, made of sheet-gold ornamented in repoussé with swastikas, circles, and a zone of schematized ducks. Fusiform and spherical gold beads, white and blue glass cylinders and small perforated spacers of amber formed the other elements of the necklace. Fragments of a bracelet in silver filigree connect this tomb also with the work of the Vetulonian jewellers. The other ornaments were plain bronze bracelets and bronze navicella fibulae. Two bronze semi-lunar razors may possibly be ritual survivals, they are certainly unexpected objects in a tomb of this character.

The bronze work includes some extraordinary specimens. First there are two massive stands made of cast bronze with four legs, each terminating in a human foot. Next there is the broad ribbon-handle of some large bronze vessel which has perished, on which stands a small figure of a bull cast in bronze. Then there is the top of some bronze vessel ornamented with the bronze model of an axe set between two horns.¹ Fourth is a large and complicated ornament of cast bronze which was obviously part of the trappings of a horse. It is illustrated in Plate 32, no. 9. Rude figures of men and geese are shown dangling from the cross-pieces or running along the top and up the sides. A pair of bronze loops, one of which is ornamented with cast figures of ducks may have been the loops

¹ For these three pieces see the illustrations on pp. 455-6 of *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxi.

through which the reins passed, while a bronze pendant with bird-figures was doubtless another part of the trappings.

More familiar in type than these curious objects were some bronze plates which had probably composed a situla and the sheathing of some sort of cist. A few fragments of iron were possibly part of a censer on a high stand. There were several small pots of black ware, and a bowl and small vase of yellow ware, on the latter of which were traces of bands painted in red.

NOTE.—The account of Le Bucacce in the *Monumenti Antichi* has been supplemented by a short article in *Rendiconti della R. Acc. dei Lincei*, vol. xxvi, fasc. 3, which describes several specimens restored later from the fragments enumerated in my text.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 32, 33

PLATE 32. BISENZIO. *Site of Le Bucacce*. From the drawings illustrating the article in *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. xxi, cols. 409–98.

No. 1. Gold fibula from tomb 3.

No. 2. Iron fibula with filigree work in electrum, from tomb 8.

No. 3. Gold disc ornamented in repoussé, from tomb 3.

No. 4. Gold disc ornamented in repoussé, from tomb 10.

No. 5. Gold head-band of filigree, from tomb 3.

No. 6. Scarab mounted as bezel on a gold hoop, from tomb 3.

No. 7. Gold disc ornamented with a gold stud and a crescent of amber, from tomb 10.

No. 8. Small gold mask, for suspension from a chain, from tomb 3.

No. 9. Bronze ornament for the harness of a horse.

Scale throughout nearly full size, except no. 9 which is $\frac{1}{4}$.

PLATE 33. VETRALLA, nos. 1–4, VULCI, nos. 5–7, VEII, nos. 8–11. *Painted pottery*, selected to show some of the principal types and patterns used in the eighth century.

In these ten examples the technique is always the same, the colour being laid direct on the natural clay without any background of white slip.

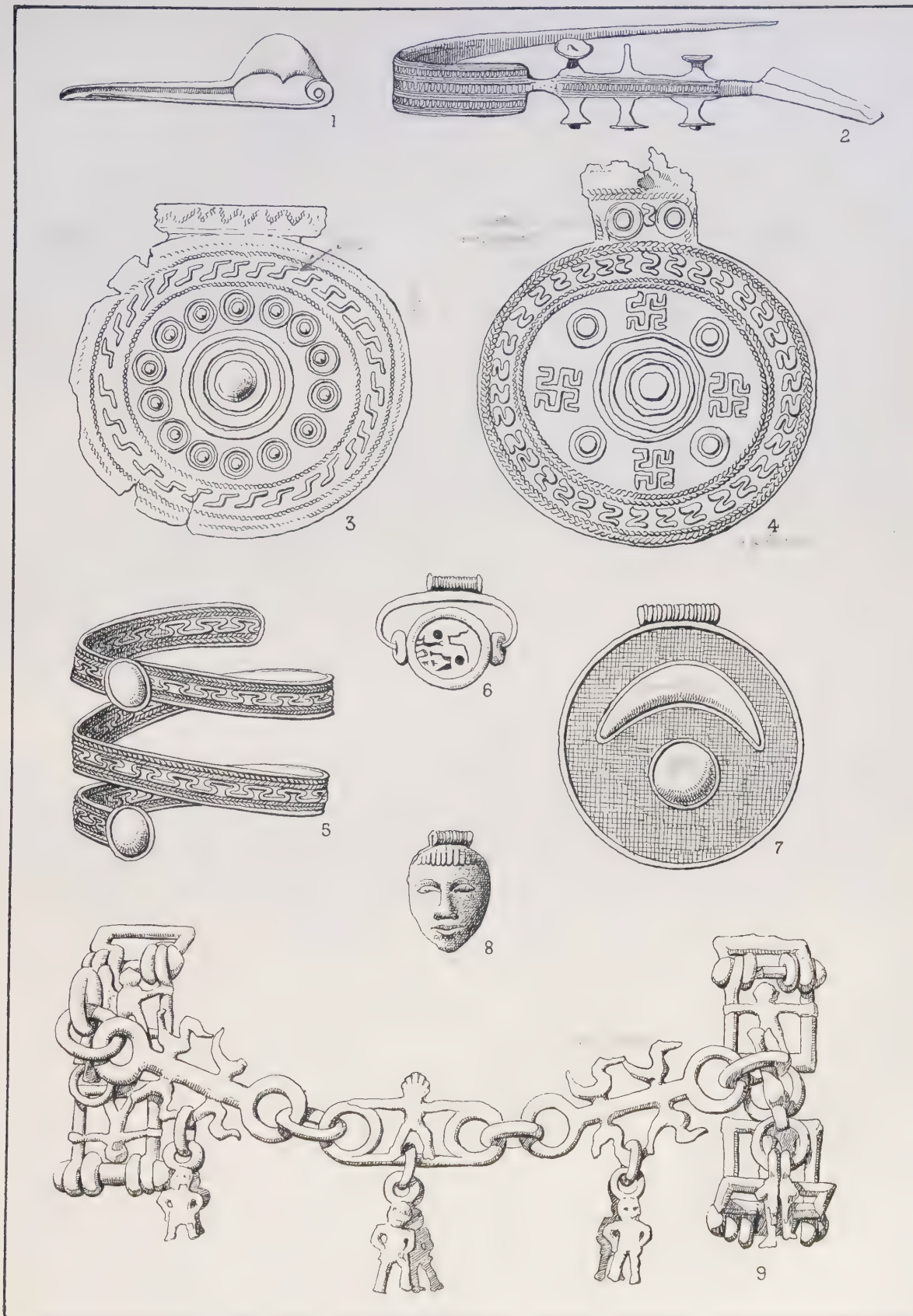
Nos. 1–4 are from *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1914, pp. 297–362.

Nos. 5–7 are from Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*.

Nos. 8, 10 from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plate 350.

Nos. 9, 11 from original drawings by F. O. Lawrence.

Scale of no. 1 is $\frac{1}{5}$, of no. 2 is $\frac{1}{8}$, of no. 3 is $\frac{1}{5}$, of no. 4 is $\frac{1}{3}$, of nos. 5–11 is approximately $\frac{1}{6}$.



BISENZIO. Gold and other Metal-work from Le Bucacce





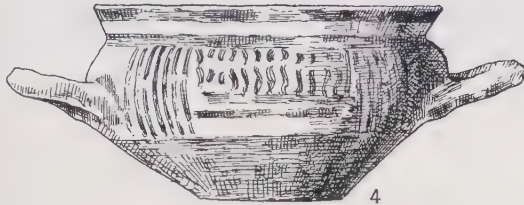
1



2



3



4



6



7



5



9



8



11.



10

VETRALLA. VULCI. VEII. Painted Geometrical Pottery

Imported Geometric Pottery

The pottery of Bisenzio enables us to bring to a head a discussion which has been maturing through many pages, for in each of our descriptive chapters, whether it dealt with the Villanovans or with the early Etruscans, we have been obliged to point out the sporadic occurrence of painted pottery among the native black Mediterranean ware or the bucchero which was derived from it. Very rare north of the Apennines, it appears sparsely at Etruscan Vetulonia, but is found quite frequently in the eighth century on most of the important sites in Etruria. This painted pottery is no doubt the product of more than one school but in its broad characteristics it may be said to represent a single species, and that species is quite indubitably of foreign origin. It differs from the black Mediterranean in three respects, being wheel-made, kiln-burned, and manufactured from potter's clay instead of from the natural unpurified earth. From the Etruscan bucchero it differs in its body colour which is pale yellow instead of black after firing. The patterns are of the simplest geometrical style, consisting of vertical or horizontal bands, concentric circles, and latticed triangles, lozenges, or squares. Zoomorphic designs are entirely absent except for the figure of a duck or goose, drawn sometimes as a single bird, sometimes in rows, which appears for the first time at Corneto in the Sopra-Selciatello cemetery and after that becomes the dominant motive in the Tomb of the Warrior. It is an exceedingly small répertoire of patterns, closely resembling one another on almost all the different sites, and only diversified by two striking exceptions, viz. the vases of the Bocchoris tomb and some examples from Bisenzio of which Fig. 60 shows the most remarkable. This specimen from Bisenzio gives the key to the principal problem. It is unquestionably imitated from some Greek original of the Dipylon period and betrays the source from which the greater part of the painted pottery was originally derived. The source of all these wares is in Greece and they represent a rare imported product which was quickly imitated by the local potters, sometimes apparently under the actual instruction of immigrant workmen. For one instance has been detected, viz. on the site of Poggio dell' Impiccato at Corneto (see above p. 46) in which the only possessors of the foreign pottery were actually foreign born. This occurred in the Second Benacci period at a stage decidedly earlier than the Bisenzio graves of Le Bucacce.

The cemeteries of Corneto have produced the largest and most varied series of the geometric pottery, beginning with the site of Poggio dell' Impiccato and continuing through the Warrior's Tomb to the Bocchoris tomb, that is to say from the ninth to the end of the eighth century. But an equal degree of antiquity

must be claimed for the earliest painted wares of the Faliscan district which, as we shall show in the next section, represent a very important school of pottery-making whence perhaps the majority of the Italian imitations were sent all over the country. The painted pottery of the Sant' Isaia cemeteries at Bologna is so like the Faliscan that we may well conjecture the few specimens found there to be actual products of Falerii. For, to judge from their rarity at Bologna, the white slip vases decorated with red lines which occur not uncommonly in the Second Benacci and even occasionally in the First Benacci period were not manufactured north of the Apennines although they may well be native Italian. And their occurrence so early as the First Benacci period proves that the influence of the Greek geometric schools had begun two centuries before the date of the Dipylonic importations identified at Bisenzio.

On the other hand it must be remembered that very simple patterns of lineally decorated ware appear down to the middle or end of the seventh century B. C.,¹ so that in one form or another geometric painted wares have a life of three hundred years in Italy. Consequently it is the highest degree unsafe to use their occurrence as an independent argument for establishing the period of any tomb in which they may be found. Almost invariably the geometrically painted vase must be dated from the evidence of its tomb and not vice versa.

How much of this pottery was manufactured locally in imitation of the foreign models, and how much of it consists of the actual imported pieces is not easy to establish. There are two distinct techniques; in the one the paint is laid direct on the natural surface of the baked clay, in the other the rough surface of the yellow clay is covered with a smooth white slip before painting. The latter process is identical with that commonly used for the Iron Age pottery of Cyprus, which has a certain generic resemblance to some of the wares which we are discussing. The earliest dateable examples of the geometric school in Italy, viz. those of the Sant' Isaia cemeteries at Bologna have the white slip; the latest, viz. the little unguentaries so common in the seventh century, have their patterns painted directly on the yellow clay. But we cannot infer that the one technique is predominantly foreign and the other predominantly native. For even if the suggestive analogy of the Cypriote pottery be set aside the study of our Plate 33, which is selected wholly from examples which are not white-coated, will show exclusively Italian forms like the Villanovan ossuary which it is impossible to imagine as having been made abroad. And on the other hand not only the Villanovan ossuary but several of the other forms and patterns occur equally in each of the two techniques.

¹ Gsell found them at Vulci contemporary with the true Corinthian orientaling pottery—see his remarks on the whole subject in *Fouilles de Vulci*, pp. 380–98.

It is only in the seventh century when the little aryballoi and the banded jugs of what is generally called 'pre-Corinthian' ware become common that we can recognize any style so distinctive that we may try to attribute it to any single school. The 'pre-Corinthian' School was probably formed in Greece itself rather than in any colony, and the 'pre-Corinthian' vases found in Etruscan graves may be regarded as actual imports from the Greek mainland or the Greek islands. Whether they were made in Argos, Chalcis, Rhodes, or elsewhere is for the experts on Greek pottery to decide, at present there seems to be no certainty. At so late a date as the seventh century they might either have been brought direct or traded via Sicily or Cumae. But we can be quite sure of one point, which is that no argument for Cumaean origin can be maintained in the case of the eighth- and ninth-century geometric vases, for they must have been manufactured long before Cumae was ever founded. It is important to observe this as there is a great deal of Cumaean pottery which bears a certain general resemblance to the Italian geometric as found in Etruria.¹ Its occurrence, if it proves anything, proves only that Cumae continued to carry on and develop a trade which had been already long established, and in fact the sites of the pre-Hellenic settlements near Locri Epizephyrii afford some striking examples of imported geometric ware earlier than any Cumaean.² If it is necessary to find an intermediate step between Greece and Italy in the eighth and ninth centuries it would be natural to look for it in Sicily. But there seems to be no necessity for the intervention of any third party; a boat coming from Greece would have no difficulty in continuing on from Sicily to any Etruscan port, and Corneto may have been as immediately in touch with the near East as Amalfi in mediaeval days.³

Be this as it may the evidence of the painted pottery certainly proves that there was direct or indirect intercourse between Greece and Etruria at least as early as the ninth century which increased during the eighth and reached a high degree of intensity in the seventh century. The development of this trade was obviously due in the main to the energy and ability of the Etruscans, but it seems to have begun some considerable time before the Etruscans had permanently settled in the country.

Falerii and Narce

No sketch of ninth- and eighth-century civilization in Southern Etruria could be complete without some reference to the Faliscans, that interesting and puzzling people who throughout history stand as a link between Etruscans and Latins, sharing the characteristics of each nation but never completely identified

¹ See *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xxii, Plates 30-50. The dating of the Cumaean examples is difficult and uncertain.

² Cemeteries of Canale-Janchina. See Orsi in

Not. Sc. 1912, *Supplemento*, figs. 30, 37, 57-9.

³ The Sicilian geometric ware of Orsi's third period seems to have little if any relationship to the Italian as found in Etruria.

with either. The earliest settlements in and near Falerii are of Villanovan type ; that is to say, the cemeteries have cremation burials, in which the ossuary is sometimes of the standard biconical form, but is very often of another type, viz. the spherical olla. Contemporary with the first of these Villanovans, who belong to the Second Benacci period, are numerous inhumation graves in which the tomb-furniture is identical with that of the cremating people.¹ It is evidently a case of two distinct racial stocks living side by side, sharing the same culture and commerce, but maintaining their religious customs, and their burial practices independently of one another. The one stock is a local variety of the Villanovan ; the other is probably early Etruscan. At Falerii each of the two types maintains its independence for several centuries, and survives for a while even the full inundation of Greek influence.

Even as early as the ninth century,² to which date many of the earlier burials may reasonably be attributed, there can be detected the peculiarities of a local school of pottery which becomes more and more accentuated in the two following centuries. The Faliscans had evidently a natural gift for pottery-making ; they were among the first to discover or learn certain simple processes, and to apply them with an inventiveness and ingenuity which put them ahead of most of those early communities whose ceramics have yet been considered in these pages. Thus in the first graves of each type there appears an excellent red polished haematitic ware which is very much superior to those rude black fabrics from which bucchero was ultimately derived. In the cemetery of Montarano, this red pottery is often ornamented with geometrical designs in white ; and in the same cemetery the white slip-ware with red geometrical patterns, which has been noted sporadically on other sites, becomes a very common product. It is quite important to observe that these local fabrics, which are a very marked and distinctive product of Falerii and Narce in the seventh century, can undoubtedly be dated back to the eighth century and perhaps to the ninth. Even such characteristic forms as the high stands for supporting spherical bowls can be proved to originate in the same early period.

Together with this skill in the manufacture of pottery should be remarked an unusual aptitude and capacity for modelling, which appears first of all in the medium of the old black ware, for there can be little doubt that the fine specimen shown in Montelius, Plate 314, no. 5, with the man holding two horses belongs to the eighth century.

Red pottery and black at Falerii were alike decorated with spirited designs in graffito, amongst which the figures of horses are particularly common, while fishes and birds occur occasionally. There is no reason to attribute these to any

¹ The specimens are in the Museo di Villa Giulia at Rome.

² The period is undoubtedly Second Benacci but it is difficult to fix the exact stage in the period.

foreign influence ; but the floral motives adopted on vases like Montelius, Plate 311, nos. 11 and 18 suggest the infiltration of models from the Aegean, and are probably a little later than the eighth century.

In some respects, therefore, the Vetulonian period at Falerii is marked by a strong local character distinct from that of other Etrurian sites, but in other respects there is a great deal of general resemblance to Corneto and Veii as well as an occasional direct touch of Vetulonia. Thus a fragment of filigree in electrum probably formed part of a bracelet of Vetulonian type, while a gold fibula with maeander design in *pulviscolo* and little birds standing above it is no doubt the actual product of a Vetulonian workshop.¹ The latter is closely paralleled by a specimen from Marsiliana (see our Plate 35, no. 1) ; it is said to have been found in the same tomb with a gold belt-buckle, illustrated by Montelius in Plate 309, no. 20, with the curious bronze ornament shown by Montelius in Plate 309, no. 11, and with an ivory sword-sheath studded with small plaques of amber. The lavish use of amber is very noticeable ; there are carved pendants of amber, large mignatta fibulae in which the body is composed of carefully fitted sections of amber, bronze fibulae studded with little amber discs and even (Montelius, Plate 313, no. 15) a gold ornament studded with amber plaques. In common with all the sites of the period Falerii and Narce have numerous green glaze beads, figures of Bes and Egyptianizing scarabs.

A group found together in the cemetery of Montarano is reproduced by Montelius in his Plate 307, and may be considered characteristic in its mixture of Etruscan and non-Etruscan objects. The two bronze water-jars with the bronze stands belonging to them (nos. 6, 9, 10, 12 of our Plate 34) might well be found on an Etruscan site, though they have not been actually recorded in our preceding pages. But the little bronze censer (no. 8 of Plate 34) would be more appropriate in a Villanovan or even a Novilaran grave² ; while the curious bronze-studded clay pots, of which one is shown in no. 7 are rare in other parts of Etruria and were probably the peculiar hobby of the Faliscans. Ghirardini who has discussed the origin and diffusion of these curious products³ in great detail points out that bronze-studded pots are unknown in Latium and in the Picene region, uncommon in Etruria except at Falerii and Narce, very rare in the Bolognese, but extraordinarily abundant at Este. In the Atestine cemeteries, however, the specimens belong to a later period, so that Ghirardini seems justified in his view that this peculiar technique originated in or near Falerii, and was only borrowed from Etruria by the inhabitants of Este.⁴

¹ The gold work of Narce has been studied by Karo in Milani's *Studi e materiali* . . . , vol. iii, pp. 143-58.

² On censers of this type see the minute and careful study by Ducati in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxxviii, 1912, pp. 11-29.

³ *Mon. Ant.*, vol. vii, in the course of his exhaustive memoir on *La Situla italica primitiva*.

⁴ Pigorini in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. x and Helbig in his *Hom. Epos*, have argued for the Phoenician origin of this technique. Ghirardini altogether rejects the theory of importation from any source,

To this same tomb belongs a bronze distaff studded with little bosses of amber (no. 5 in Plate 34) ; a handsome bronze girdle with engraved geometric patterns ; a bronze overlapping bracelet ; and several bronze fibulae, one of which has a whipping of gold wire round the body.

A second group which may be regarded as thoroughly representative of the eighth century at Narce is given by Montelius in his Plate 318 ; it includes examples of all the objects which we have described as characteristic of the period. The co-existence of these types is confirmed by a series of groups from the cemetery of Petrina exhibited at the end of the semi-circular gallery on the first floor of the museum in Villa Giulia under the numbers XX to XXXIV ; which are so homogeneous in character that they carry their own credentials. From this series we take the bronze vases nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 shown in our Plate 34.¹

and so far as we are aware no specimens have ever been found outside the Italian peninsula.

¹ The discriminating reader who remembers the history of the excavations at Narce will readily understand why I have not in this case followed my usual method of scheduling the exact contents of each tomb. To omit Falerii and Narce, however, would have been impossible, and it is not really wise to boycott a collection which contains so much varied and valuable material. After considerable

reflection and examination I have at last formed the opinion that not only can the finds from Falerii and Narce be studied as a whole with much profit, but even whole groups of tombs from these sites can be treated as coherent units in such a way as to yield trustworthy and useful results. A general conspectus of the most important objects is given by Montelius in his Plates 307-22; no other references are necessary or worthy of recommendation.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 34

PLATE 34. FALERII and NARCE. From Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 307, 317, 318, after *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. iv. Scale for all approximately $\frac{1}{8}$.

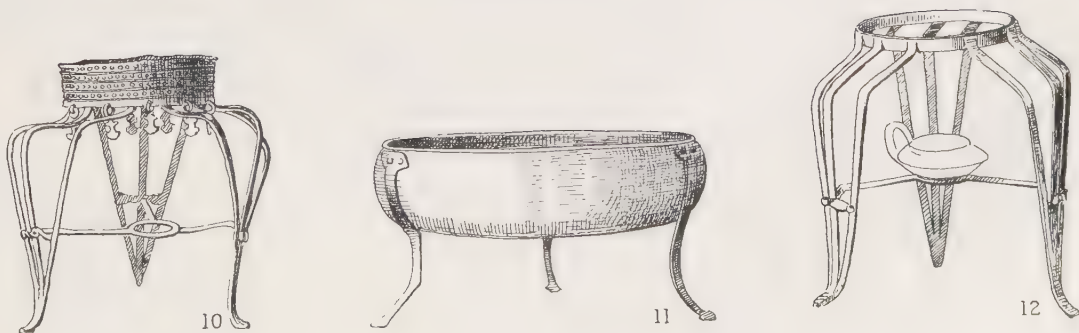
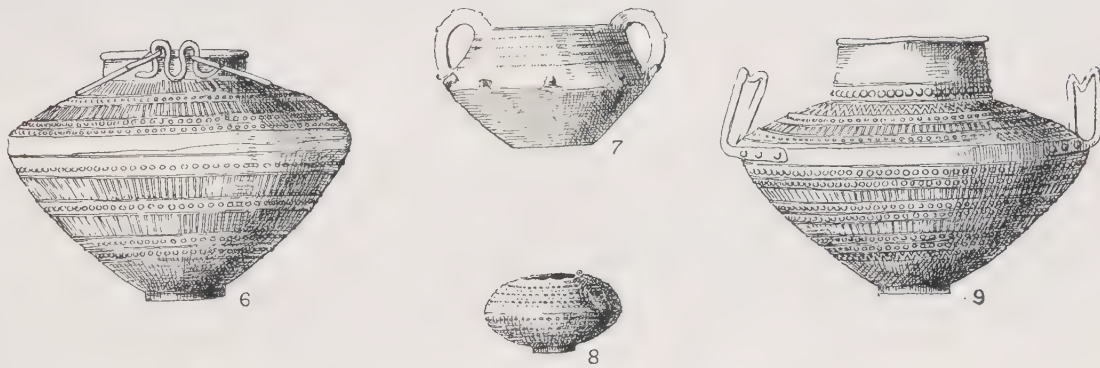
Nos. 1 and 2, bronze vessels from tomb 27 at Narce.

No. 3. Bronze bowl from tomb 29 at Narce.

No. 4. Bronze vessel from tomb 32 at Narce.

No. 5. Distaff of amber-studded bronze from a Montarano tomb.

Nos. 6-12. Group of vessels from a Montarano tomb, all bronze except no. 7 which is of pottery with bronze studs.



FALISCAN TOMBS. Bronze Objects

Marsiliana

A very valuable link between the antiquities of Vetulonia and those of Southern Etruria is supplied by the site of Marsiliana on the coast a few miles north of Orbetello. The situation afforded every advantage for an early settlement, with the little river Albegna running down to the sea and furnishing in connexion with the neighbouring streams a series of natural roads from the sea-coast to the mountains. The island, for it was then an island, of Argentario, protected the approach from the south, and a headland to the north marked the natural site of a seaport to be known in due time as Telamon. From a very early date this was a thickly populated and prosperous region, through which a brisk trade must have passed. Not only Marsiliana but Pitigliano and perhaps other towns yet undiscovered were incessantly engaged in supplying the sea-borne imports to the inland settlements round the lake of Bolsena. The name of Marsiliana is that of a large estate belonging to the late Prince Don Tommaso Corsini, who conducted systematic and careful excavations for many years which have recently been published in a very complete volume.¹ An entire room in the Etruscan museum at Florence is devoted to the exhibition of the antiquities, which form an admirable complement to the Vetulonian collection.

That part of the site which was occupied by the early Etruscan necropolis is named *Banditella* and contains with one exception (the circle of Perazzeta) all the graves which will be described in this chapter. It is contemporary with Etruscan Vetulonia, the latest tombs in it containing precisely the same little banded pre-Corinthian yellow vases which were found in the graves of Pietrera and Le Migliarine, without any trace of Corinthian or other pottery of the late seventh century. The beginning of its history, however, may be a little later than that of Vetulonia, for there is no clear evidence of anything quite so early as the 'Foreigner's Grave' on that site, and the more important finds belong rather to the later than the earlier half of the eighth century, though this may be partly the result of the accidents of survival. A little over one hundred graves have been recorded ; of which about a dozen are round or square holes containing cremation burials, twelve are stone chambers originally covered by tumuli, seventy-five are simple *fosse* or trenches, and thirteen are trenches enclosed by circles of stones.

The cremation burials need not be regarded as Villanovan ; for in only one case was the ossuary of the normal bi-conical type, while the small amount of tomb-furniture found with these burials was in no way characteristic of the

¹ *Marsiliana d'Albegna* by A. Minto, Florence, Alinari, 1921.

earlier people. So that Banditella may be considered to be a definite and exclusively Palaeo-Etruscan settlement which is not based on any Villanovan predecessor. It is tempting to suggest that Banditella may even have been a colony founded by Vetulonia itself; in any case it must have been established very soon after the first Etruscans landed in the sheltered shallows near Grosseto, and its history runs closely parallel to the history of its larger and wealthier neighbour. Between the two lay Rusellae, a famous city in rather later times, of which we know very little, but enough to say that it was certainly in existence before the end of the eighth century.

The *pozzetti* and *buche* are of no great importance and contained very few objects; the chamber-tombs are structurally interesting but had been completely rifled; so that the material for study is derived wholly from the *fosse* and circle-graves. And here we obtain at once the confirmation of an opinion which had begun to force itself during our study of Vetulonia, viz. that the only difference between trenches and circle-graves is in the matter of wealth. Except when they had been completely rifled the circle-graves invariably contained a very luxurious equipment, whereas the simple trenches in which the average population had been buried showed, with one or two exceptions, only a medium standard of riches. The two types are intermingled over the whole area of the cemetery without any topographical distinction or boundary between them. Structurally the circle-graves form a distinct link in the evolution of architectural form, which it was not so easy to detect at Vetulonia owing to the nature of the ground. It must be considered that they were originally covered with earth and stones, for which, as Minto points out, the ring of upright slabs formed the border and support. This shows, therefore, the embryonic form of those tumuli erected over circular courses of masonry which can be seen so perfectly preserved in the first tombs of the great necropolis at Caere. The 'chamber-tombs' with their dromos and cella of hewn stones mark a further stage, which may be compared with the simple architecture of the Regolini-Galassi type. Doubtless the wealthiest of all the tombs were the great mounds of Macchiabuia lying just beyond the Banditella cemetery, which were too completely rifled to yield any full record, but from one of which there was obtained a silver fibula (*Marsiliana*, Plate XII, 12) of the same class that was found in the Vetulonian deposits of Aia Bambagini and Tre Navicelle.

In its arts and crafts Banditella shows in the main a close family relationship to Vetulonia without any strong note of local variation. Jewellery and articles of adornment are similar and often identical, although Banditella adds to the repertoire a few examples which are interesting as connecting it with Southern Etruria. The same may be said of the bronze vessels, of which, however, only

a comparatively small number occurred; some are duplicates of Vetulonian models, while others combine complete identity of technical process with slight variations of form or ornament, but the cast-bronze bowl of 'Perazzeta' (*Marsiliana*, p. 274) is a new and important development. In regard to metal work, however, the most remarkable feature is the abundance of iron, and the use which is made of it. There was no scarcity of iron at Vetulonia, where it occurred incessantly, but the dampness of the soil had destroyed the form of all the objects. Here, however, at Banditella can be seen a perfect iron bed, iron wheels and other parts of a chariot, spears of great length, and well shaped daggers and knives. At the same time iron is used for personal ornament; there is an iron fibula and iron armlets bound round with a whipping of silver wire.¹ Evidently the coast-towns were reaping the full advantage of their neighbourhood to those inexhaustible mines of Elba which perhaps first tempted them to this particular region.

By far the most important contribution, however, which Banditella brings to our knowledge of the eighth century is through the carved ivories, of which several have been preserved in a state of good preservation. Even when all allowances have been made for the accidents of survival and the possibilities of destruction, it is still worthy of comment that no figured ivories were found in all the numerous tombs of Vetulonia. It suggests at least the possibility that the importation only began towards the end of the period, when it was too late for Vetulonia to acquire any share in it. However this may be, the Banditella specimens are the first to which it has yet been possible to assign any close dating, and they are of inestimable value for comparison with the ivories and other foreign products found in the Bernardini, Barberini, and Regolini-Galassi tombs. We will proceed, therefore, to give the details first of all of those graves in which the finest ivories occurred.

Grave 67, called the 'Circle of the Ivories' was a circle 17.50 metres in diameter containing in the centre a large trench 5.50 metres long by 3.75 metres wide and originally about 3 metres deep. On the floor of the trench, not enclosed by any coffin, were three skeletons; and in a hollow against one side was a bronze cauldron, 0.50 metre in diameter, which enclosed all the valuable objects of gold and ivory. First among the latter on account of its unique interest should be mentioned an ivory writing-tablet 0.088 metre long by 0.051 metre wide, with raised edges confining the wax, and with two carved lion heads in place of a handle. Along one side of the edge a series of twenty-six

¹ This shows the fallacy of an argument which is often employed by archaeologists, viz. that because iron is used for personal ornaments therefore it must have been a rare metal at the time when it was so used.

letters is incised in strong clear lines, running from right to left. This (Fig. 61) constitutes the earliest example yet known of an Etruscan alphabet. It closely resembles the two other complete versions found respectively at Veii and Caere,¹ and is of course Greek in origin though not necessarily derived through the medium of any Sicilian or Italian colony.² If we could suppose that the tablet was incised before it came into the country this would give a valuable clue to the origin of all the ivories in the tomb, but unfortunately there is nothing to show that the alphabet was not added to the tablet by some Etruscan scribe living in Marsiliana itself. With the tablet was an ivory comb decorated with figures of animals. On the top are two feline creatures carved in the round, one on either side of an open pomegranate flower. Beneath these the body of the comb has a pair of winged sphinxes on the obverse and a pair of heraldic lions on the reverse, all carved in low relief. At each end of the comb are two volutes ending

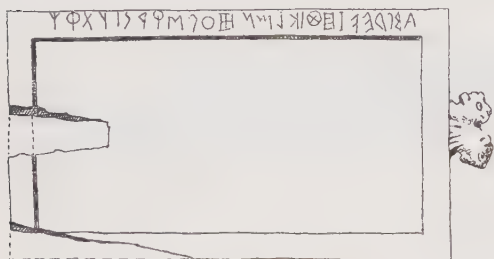


FIG. 61. Inscribed ivory tablet. After *Marsiliana*, p. 238. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

in griffin-heads (*Marsiliana*, Plate XVII).

The third object is a pyxis 0.182 metre high, of the shape shown in Fig. 62, made of several sections fastened together by ivory pegs. To the centre of the lid is attached a finely carved lotus flower, round which are represented in graffito various animals standing over a prostrate man armed with an axe. A somewhat analogous

scene is represented in bas-relief in the two zones which surround the body of the jar; in the upper zone a prostrate man is attempting to defend himself with a knife against two lions, while two horned creatures fight one another, and birds of prey hover over them; in the lower zone men are being devoured by lions while a ram and a sphinx stand by in contemplation (*Marsiliana*, Plate XVIII, and Fig. 14). Fragments of ivory which probably formed the handles of a coffer figure with extraordinary power and realistic feeling the same ghastly story of a lion devouring a man (cf. an ivory from the Barberini tomb in our Plate 40, no. 6). In a fifth carving there is still another hint of the same struggle between lion and man on a disc which forms the lower part of an ivory bâton, while the upper end terminates with a finely executed figure of a sleeping dog. (*Marsiliana*, Plate XIX). The same motive of the sleeping dog appears also on some ivory buttons. This whole series is of extraordinary interest,

¹ See the comparative table given by Minto in *Marsiliana*, p. 242, with the accompanying references. The Veii version is on a pottery vase from Formello now in the Museo di Villa Giulia;

the Caere alphabet is on a vase in the Etruscan museum of the Vatican.

² That the Etruscan alphabet was obtained from a source independent of Cumae has been well argued by Karo in *Bull. Pal. It.*, vol. xxx (1904).

especially for the analogies which it presents to the scenes engraved on silver bowls and plates in the Bernardini and Regolini-Galassi tombs.

The gold and silver objects found with the ivories were principally personal ornaments, but a silver cup (in fragments) deserves special attention. It is of the same form and style as the silver cup found in the Prince's Tomb (p. 115) and the rim is similarly decorated with a row of incised figures; in this case, however, the scheme is very simple, viz. two cats following two ducks, repeated several times over. Interesting also is the indication furnished by some repoussé fragments of silver that the tomb had contained a bust like the bronze bust presently to be mentioned in tomb 41. The personal ornaments consist of four fibulae, two of gold (or electrum), and two of silver, parts of gold or silver belt-buckles, a silver chain of numerous fine strands, and gold spirals for the hair. One of these fibulae, belonging to the rhomboidal type so common at Marsiliana, is ornamented with zigzag designs in granulated work; two others are plain specimens of the same general class that is illustrated in Fig. 33, and the fourth is of the kind shown in Plate 35, no. 7 which was also found in the Tomb of the Three Boats (cf. Fig. 49). Half a dozen fibulae of bronze were also found; four of which are of the usual 'navicella' or 'mignatta' form engraved with lines, a fifth is a simple bow threaded with slices of amber, while the sixth, of which only a fragment survives, had the figure of a horse for its body. In bronze there were also portions of a belt-buckle and several spiral bracelets.

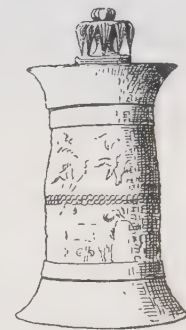


FIG. 62. Ivory pyxis. After *Marsiliana*, p. 223. Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$.

The larger bronze objects were found in a much broken state; they included parts of a shield ornamented with geometrical designs in repoussé, a candelabrum of which the branches terminated in small griffin-heads, parts of a plain cauldron, of three fluted bowls, of a hemispherical bowl, and of a large situla.

Of iron there were found a tripod for supporting a bowl, parts of chariot-wheels, andirons, and two very long thin spear-heads.

With the common brown-black pottery, which is of no interest, was a small plain alabastron of yellow potter's clay.

Grave 41. Circle of the Fibula. The circle was 18.50 metres in diameter with a trench-grave 4.80 metres long by 3.10 metres wide in the centre. Between the trench and the enclosing circle an area measuring 3.70 metres by 2.30 metres had been systematically paved with large slabs of stone, on which a certain number of objects had been deposited. These consisted of two fluted bronze bowls, the remains of two bronze vases of biconical form with plain quadrangular handles, a bronze basin with ring-handle, a bronze tripod made of simple flat

ribbon decorated with punched bosses, a spherical bronze vessel which stood on the tripod, a bronze spiral bracelet, and a bronze bracelet which fastened with a hook. Also two iron spears, iron fire-utensils, and some fragments of reddish pottery with stamped ornamentation.

The remainder of the tomb-furniture was found with the skeleton, which lay on the floor of the trench in the middle of the circle. In the filling of the trench were the iron wheels of a chariot; the articles of personal adornment were disposed on the body; and the rest stood against one side of the grave.

Of ivory there were two important examples. The first belongs to the same school of design as the ivories in tomb 67. It probably formed part of an entire group decorating the top of a box or casket, and represents a lion in strife with several other animals. Over its back the lion has slung the body of an antelope, and under its fore-paw it is holding a dog, while with its hind legs it defends itself against the onslaught of a great bull. The use of gold to heighten the details of the carving is very remarkable; the bull's eyes are represented by studs of gold, and he has a sort of muzzle of gold leaf (*Marsiliana*, Plate XVI, no. 1).

The second carving is of a different character, it is a small statuette of a naked female figure, complete except for the lower part of the legs. Each hand is pressed to her breasts; her hair falls in a long plait down her back. On the upper part of the body and on the back are remains of gold leaf, which may have formed a complete covering to the whole figure. For style and technique, as well as for the Aegean and Oriental associations which it suggests, this statuette is of extraordinary importance (*Marsiliana*, Plate XVI, no. 2).

The next interesting object in this tomb is a bronze funerary bust, of which the shoulders, neck, and upper part of one arm are preserved but the head is wanting. It is formed of two hammered plates with a third cylindrical piece for the neck (*Marsiliana*, Plate XLIII). Fragments of silver belonging to a similar bust were found in tomb 67, but otherwise the specimen is unique, the nearest analogy to it being offered by the bronze 'Canopic' vases of Chiusi (see below, Plate 43, no. 6).

Some fragments were found of a bronze model of a rectangular house with sloping roof. The repoussé decorations upon it showed not only architectural features but also schematic figures of animals. In the Museo di Villa Giulia at Rome there is a very fine bronze model of a house found at Falerii (Museum, no. 2933, and Montelius, Plate 308, no. 8) for which it has never yet been possible to quote an exact parallel. This example from Marsiliana shows that it might very well belong to the latter half of the eighth century, a date with which the workmanship is quite consistent. The other bronze objects were as follows:

A fine censer of the Vetulonian type (cf. Plate 24) with its jointed handle fitting on to an open lotus flower ; parts of a shield decorated in alternate zones with vertical lines, rows of bosses, and lines of animals or birds ; a tripod on the legs of which were soldered rudely-formed horses while on the edge of the basin there were monkeys ; a plain tripod without figures ; two spherical jars without ornament, but with covers decorated with animals and birds ; fragments of several small basins and of fluted bowls, and fragments of a biconical vase.

There were two bronze knives and an iron dagger. The pottery consisted of several specimens of plain black ware ; two dishes of red haematitic ware on legs ; two lekythoi of yellow clay, one of which is painted with bands in red ; and a remarkable spherical jar of coarse black bucchero 0.38 metre high on which are three horses moulded in low relief while the rest of the space is principally filled with rosettes (*Marsiliana*, Plate LII).

Some of the most interesting of the gold and silver objects found at Marsiliana occurred in grave 41. A plain triangular pectoral of sheet silver must have been originally fastened over linen or leather. Two little pendants of sheet gold are shaped into rude Janus-heads of women, and may have formed part of a necklace. More important than these is the gold tube shown in Plate 35, no. 2, which is evidently the midrib of one of those peculiar belt-buckles that will be noted in the Regolini-Galassi tomb and are known also from Praeneste, Veii, and Falerii (Montelius, Plate 309, no. 20). It is finely ornamented with designs in granulated work and in filigree. A variety of this type of buckle, in which the midrib is not tubular but flat, occurs in several of the tombs, and is illustrated in Plate 35, no. 3.

The finest ornament in the tomb, and the most important piece of gold work found at Marsiliana, is the fibula illustrated in Plate 35, no. 1,¹ which may be compared with a specimen of unknown provenance in the British Museum.² The catch-plate is of gold sheet as in the Vetulonian fibulae, the body is of silver covered with a plating of gold. Zigzags and maeanders of fine granulated work cover the catch-plate, the tubular body, and the round balls at the lower end of it. Along the ridge of the catch-plate and the curve of the body are rows of ducks, separated by a pair of lions at the point where the curve passes into the straight. These little figures are in the round, made of hammered sheets of metal soldered together, with the details and salient points of the modelling accentuated by lines of granulation. A portion of a similar fibula was found at Falerii and has been mentioned on p. 179 ; it is interesting to note that in the Faliscan tomb also it was accompanied by a comb-shaped belt-buckle with tubular midrib.

¹ *Marsiliana*, Plate XI. Cf. Milani in *Rendiconti R. Acc. Lincei*, xxi, 1912, p. 315.

² Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery in the British Museum*, no. 1376.

The Circle of Perazzeta. This circle stood a little distance away from the main cemetery of Banditella, on the other side of a stream. It was of unusual size, measuring 26 metres in diameter, and the stones enclosing it were large blocks of remarkable solidity. Scattered outside the ring were numerous stones which may have formed the original structure of the tumulus above the grave. In the centre of the circle was the large trench, 5.85 metres long by 3.55 metres wide, the upper section of which was filled with numerous large fragments of

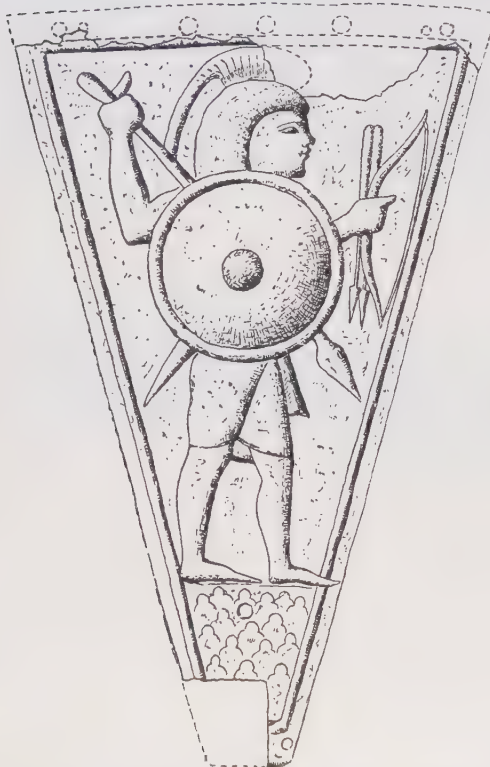


FIG. 63. Bronze plaque. After *Marsiliana*, p. 271. Scale not quite $\frac{1}{2}$.

two chariots. From these were recovered intact two triangular bronze plaques decorated in repoussé with the figure of an armed warrior, which may have been the frontal pieces protecting the heads of the horses. One of them is illustrated in Fig. 63 in order to show the equipment of a fighting-man of the period.

Below the chariots was a simple four-legged bed, made entirely of iron and so well preserved that it has been perfectly restored. On this lay the skeleton of the owner of the tomb. All the objects of personal adornment must have originally lain upon the body, but in course of time they had slipped through and fallen below the bed. At the foot stood the vases of bronze and pottery.

The personal ornaments consisted of nine fibulae made of gold (electrum), plated silver or plain silver; two comb-shaped buckles of silver plated with gold, one of which is shown in Plate 35, no. 3; a silver chain of fine links; a circular armlet of bronze whipped round with silver wire; three bronze fibulae, and parts of a bronze belt-buckle. With these were three small ivory objects, viz. a ring carved with a squatting monkey, a button with the unrecognizable figure of some animal, and a broken seal with a monkey on one side and a seated divinity on the other.

The only weapons or implements were a fine bronze spear, two bronze spits, an iron spear, and an iron axe.

Of the bronze vessels only one was intact viz. a fluted two-handled cup, which is peculiar in being *cast*, not hammered like all the bronze vessels which

have been described up to this point. With it were fragments of several examples of the usual technique of hammered sheets, viz. parts of a biconical jar, of a situla, and of a round basin. The few specimens of pottery consist of brown-black or reddish ware with no features of special interest, but it should be observed that there is a small plain lekythos of yellow ware.

The peculiar value of this tomb lies in the extraordinary state of preservation of its contents. Remains of iron beds were found in two other instances, viz. in tomb no. 2 of Banditella, and in one of the tumuli of Macchiabuia. But this is the only case in which enough has survived for a perfect restoration. The only other complete Etruscan beds so far as we know are two made of bronze, one of which came from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, and the other from a tomb at Caere opened by Campana. The bronze beds have a framework connecting the cross-bars, and a similar framework seems to have existed in the iron bed of the Macchiabuia tumulus; but in this Perazzeta tomb there was nothing between the iron cross-bars, so that the superstructure was probably made of wood which has perished.

It is unfortunately impossible to make a reconstruction of the chariot, although a great many pieces are perfectly preserved which can be studied in Minto's publication (*Marsiliana*, Plates XXXI-XXXV.) The four cast-bronze figures of lions no doubt decorated some part of the screen; but, as no other ornamental pieces were found, the style was no doubt comparatively simple.

The fibulae are of considerable interest. There are two rare forms which can be exactly paralleled from Vetulonia, viz. a gold-plated silver specimen shown in Plate 35, no. 4 which is like one found in the second Sagrona grave (see above, Fig. 50), and two gold-plated silver specimens of the type illustrated in Plate 35, no. 8, which occurred also in the tumulus of Val di Campo (cf. Fig. 55). Besides these there were two gold fibulae of the type shown in Plate 35, no. 5, and one of quite plain silver illustrated in Plate 35, no. 6. Two other silver fibulae resemble Plate 35, no. 6, but have not the circular spring at the one end of the bow, nor the poppy-head where the bow joins the pin. Another gold fibula is of the form Fig. 33 which occurred in the Tomb of the Prince.

Grave 34 had evidently been robbed of its principal contents in ancient times. It was a circle 17·20 metres in diameter containing two trenches, the first of which was empty except for two small bronze ornaments, the handle of a dagger in iron and amber, and a few fragments of brown-black pottery. In the second trench, which was 4 metres long by 2·80 wide, the top layer was formed by the remains of a chariot under which lay the skeleton with the remainder of the tomb-furniture. Of the precious metals there were two gold spiral hair-rings; a gold fibula of the common rhomboidal type; a number of small plaques

of bronze covered with gold leaf on which were punched geometrical designs, a silver chain of very fine links, and two silver dishes 0.16 metre in diameter engraved with geometrical designs. In bronze there were four types of fibulae, viz. the common rhomboidal, the mignatta, the open boat, and the plain bow threaded with discs of amber; also fragments of a tripod and basin, of a plain situla and of a fluted bowl, besides several bronze discs, a spit, and two horse-bits. Of iron there were three weapons, viz. a spear, a dagger, and an axe. The pottery was red or the common brown-black, with stamped rosettes.

Grave 39 had also been plundered, and the few objects recovered were found thrown out into the rubbish of the filling. The circle was 16.50 metres in diameter with a trench 5 metres long by 3.20 metres wide. Two hair-rings and two rhomboidal fibulae of gold (or electrum), a silver chain, and part of a silver buckle, a fluted silver bead and an amber pendant in the form of a monkey, give a hint of what had been the personal ornaments. With them were six engraved

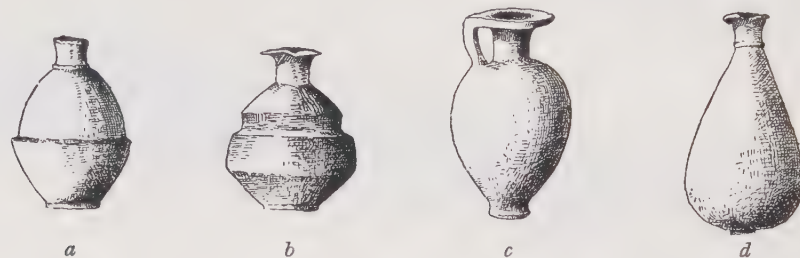


FIG. 64. Pottery. After *Marsiliana* tav. 53. Scale not quite $\frac{1}{2}$.

mignatta fibulae of bronze, fragments of bronze bow-fibulae threaded with amber, and fragments of carved ivory which might have been the handle of a dagger. The bronze vases must have been important, but only fragments of them remained, the best preserved being a large basin 0.30 metre in diameter with fluted sides; of the others it can only be said that they were of the usual technique of hammered sheets with lines of bosses as a decoration. Of the pottery the only point to be remarked is the unusual shape of two plain lekythoi of yellow potter's clay. They are reproduced in Fig. 64, nos. *a* and *b*, together with two other vases of the same yellow clay from graves which it is not worth while to describe in detail.¹

It has been remarked on an earlier page that the simple trench-graves at Marsiliana do not compare in the riches of their contents with the circle-graves, but two are worth recording in order to complete the review of types and objects represented in the cemetery.

Grave no. I was a trench of irregular shape, measuring 3.80 metres by 4.80 metres with a depth of 1.30 metre. On the body of the skeleton were some

¹ *c* is from grave 72 and *d* is from grave 44.

bronze fibulae of common types, together with a bronze chain and bronze pendants. The bronze objects placed beside the body are of more interest. They include the fragments of a fine shield ornamented in repoussé with zones of triangles, studs, and lines; a tripod with circular support for a basin; a candelabrum topped with a cast-bronze human head; five fluted bowls; two vases of the ossuary type (cf. Fig. 47); and a plain situla with loop-handles. Of iron there were a spear, an axe, a knife, and two iron fibulae presumably belonging to the horses' harness. Fragments of the usual iron chariot-wheels were also found. Among the pottery should be remarked a two-handled cup of brown-black ware, which is heavily fluted in evident imitation of the bronze types; and fragments of small undecorated specimens of yellow potter's clay.

Grave no. 2 measuring 3.80 by 2.10 metres was the only trench-grave which contained any considerable quantity of gold and silver, and the specimens found in it are of great interest for their Vetulonian connexions.¹ First should be observed two filigree gold bracelets, which are practically identical with those found in the Circle of the Bracelets at Vetulonia (p. 106). Next there are ten pendants of gold-plated bronze in the form of a female figure, resembling the carved amber pendants of the Circle of the Bracelets (cf. Fig. 25). With them are gold-plated pendants in the shape of an anchor, and little gold discs with punched geometrical designs, as well as numerous small gold plaques similarly decorated and pierced with holes along the edge for sewing on to some fabric. A gold button with openwork in filigree is a new class of object.

In silver there is first of all a ring enclosing a genuine Egyptian scarab of glazed steatite with hieroglyphic letters expressing 'Ra lord of the two lands'.² Next is a bracelet formed of a broad band of silver (0.058 metre wide) ornamented with a succession of plain ribs in relief and edged with the common S motive derived from schematized figures of ducks; this class of bracelet does not occur at Vetulonia and is most nearly to be paralleled by the elaborate gold bracelets of the Regolini-Galassi tomb. Also of silver are two spirals with filigree terminations, fourteen smooth round beads, parts of a belt-buckle, a thin chain, two rhomboidal fibulae, and a fibula of the rod-and-ball class. Fragments were found too of a silver bowl with herring-bone and crescent ornaments engraved on the edge of the rim.

In glass-work there were several large pieces intended for threading on bronze fibulae, and a long tubular piece of a green colour with bands in yellow possibly intended for the handle of a knife.

¹ The entire set is figured in *Marsiliana*, Plate XIV.

² Eight scarabs of glazed steatite were found in six distinct tombs at Banditella. The workmanship is scarcely distinctive but the material

bears out the opinion of G. Farina that they are genuinely Egyptian. Containing no names or other exact indications they are not susceptible of dating within a limit of two or three centuries.

The bronze fibulae, twenty-eight in number, are principally of the boat-shape with rhomboidal extensions ; but one is exceptional, combining the rod-and-ball shape with the addition of a small round cap on one side.

There had been several large bronze vessels of which only fragments remained, showing the types to have been a situla, a basin, a plate, and two biconical jars probably of the same 'ossuary' shape found in grave no. 1 ; there were also a bronze spit and remains of a bronze candelabrum.

Of iron there were found the regulation chariot-wheels, parts of andirons, and parts of an iron bed. So far as can be ascertained it was of exactly the same type as the iron bed found in the Perazzeta circle.

In conclusion—that there may be no possible error as to the occurrence at Banditella of both rites, cremation and inhumation, it should be pointed out that there were four cases in which cremated remains were found in the same trench-grave as skeletons. In addition to these there were eleven cremation burials by themselves, in *pozzetti* or *buche*. But the enormous majority of burials are simple inhumations, of which exactly a hundred were recorded.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 35

PLATE 35. MARSILIANA. *Fibulae and clasps*. Drawn from the photographs and other illustrations in Minto, *Marsiliana d'Albegna* (pp. 197-201, and Plates XI, XII, XIII).

No. 1. Fibula of gold, and silver plated with gold, from tomb 41 ; scale, $\frac{3}{4}$.

No. 2. Tubular gold midrib of a belt-clasp from tomb 41 ; scale, $\frac{4}{5}$.

No. 3. Silver belt-clasp plated with gold, from Perazzeta ; nearly full size.

No. 4. Silver fibula plated with gold, from Perazzeta ; scale about $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. 5. Gold fibula from Perazzeta ; scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$.

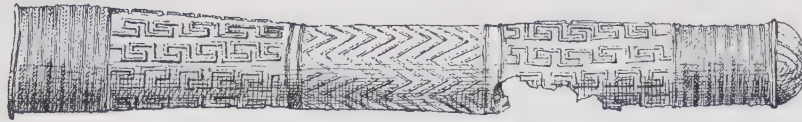
No. 6. Silver fibula from Perazzeta ; scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. 7. Silver fibula from tomb 67 ; scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$.

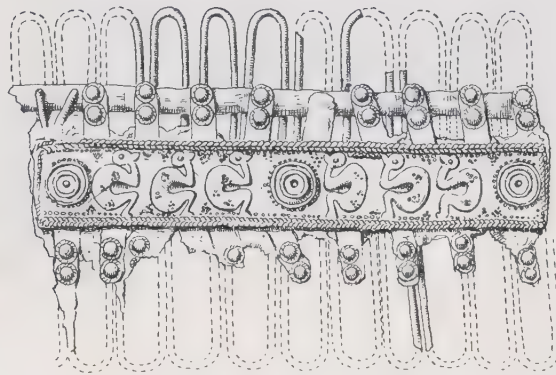
No. 8. Gold fibula ornamented with granulation, from tomb 10 ; scale a little larger than $\frac{1}{2}$.



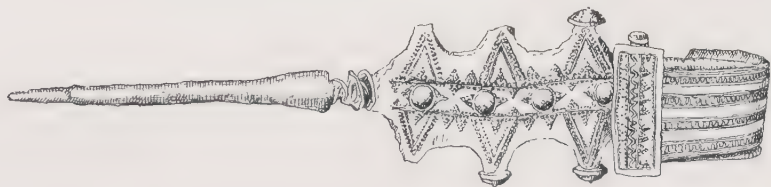
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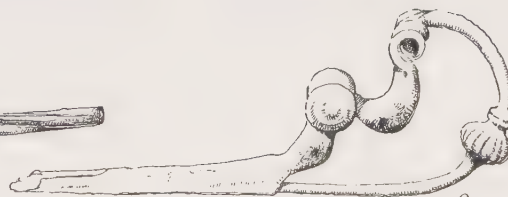
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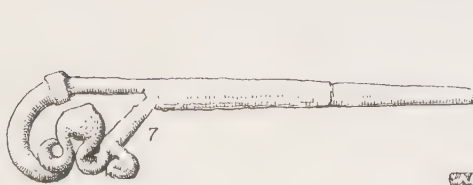
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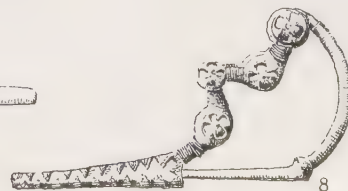
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8

MARSILIANA. Fibulae and Clasps

The Excavations at Veii

I have treated in this chapter the principal sites of the eighth century which offer comparisons with Vetulonia. One important series of excavations however has not been included, viz., those made at Veii, especially in the years 1913-16. This is because the publication of the full report on Veii has been long delayed and cannot be expected for many months after this volume goes to press. Without the report it is impossible to carry out any such detailed analysis as is required, so that it has seemed better to attempt no more than a few general remarks which are to be found in Appendix C and can be supplemented later when the official record appears. When the new galleries now being constructed in the Museo di Villa Giulia have been completed and the entire series of discoveries from Veii is exhibited in them these will form an exceedingly valuable group ranging from early Villanovan down to the advanced Etruscan period. It may then be possible to add a few more pages of criticism and examination to the Appendix.

The seventh century is most typically represented for Southern Etruria by the brilliant civilization of the great princely tombs at Caere and Praeneste which is described in the next chapter. The scope of this volume does not admit of following out all the local variations during that century on sites of less importance. To Northern and inland Etruria, represented almost solely by Chiusi, is devoted the eighth chapter, which covers both the eighth and seventh centuries down to about 650 B. C.

Summary of Chronology, Villanovan and Etruscan

At this point, before beginning the discussion of the great princely tombs of Caere and Praeneste, it may be well to summarize the results of the synchronisms which have been suggested in the first six chapters.

Assuming then that the First Benacci period, of which the earliest phases appear almost simultaneously in the Bolognese region and Etruria, begins in the eleventh century, we ascribe to a *Pre-Benacci period* the Etrurian site of Allumiere and several Latian sites in the Alban Hills.

To the *First Benacci period* or about 1050-950 B. C. belong the sites of San Vitale, Savena, and part of Benacci near Bologna, as well as part of a cemetery at Verucchio near Rimini. In Etruria the same period is represented by the sites of Selciatello and part of Poggio dell' Impiccato at Corneto and by part of the cemetery of Poggio alla Guardia at Vetulonia. The *Second Benacci*

period or about 950–700 B. C. comprises the later part of the Benacci site and the whole of the Benacci-Caprara and Benacci-De Luca sections at Bologna. In Etruria the equivalent of these appears in the later half of the Poggio dell' Impiccato and the whole of the Monterozzi cemetery at Corneto, the Guerruccia graves of Volterra, the cremation-graves round Falerii, and the later half of the Poggio alla Guardia cemetery.

To the later and not the earlier phases of the Second Benacci dating about 850 B. C., are to be ascribed the 'Grave of the Foreign Woman' and the 'foreign deposits' at Vetulonia. This is the exact generation which shows the first unmistakable contact between Villanovans and Etruscans. Between 850 and 800 B. C. may be placed the Warrior's Tomb at Corneto and the trench-graves of Vetralla.

South of the Apennines the Etruscan civilization so rapidly swamps and submerges the Villanovan that after the year 800 B. C. it is no longer appropriate or convenient to use the same classification that is used for the regions round Bologna. There the Villanovans continued without interruption or interference from outside to develop their own local civilization until 500 B. C. or later, and though they received a certain amount from Etruria in the way of commerce they retained their own individuality to an extraordinary extent, while the new influences from Greece and the near East hardly affected them at all.

But among the early Etruscans these are precisely the centuries of the greatest commercial activity and artistic development. The eighth-century culture of the Etruscans is represented by the entire cemeteries of Vetulonia and Marsiliana and by certain individual graves or small groups of graves on the other sites mentioned in this chapter. Whereas Vetulonia covers the whole, and Marsiliana almost the whole, of the eighth century, the Bisenzio graves of Le Bucacce belong with one or two possible exceptions to the latter half of it.

The Bocchoris grave of Corneto is unequivocally dated by an inscribed object to the very last years of the eighth century. In the next chapter we shall describe the contents of the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini tombs as giving the most complete and vivid picture of the brilliant Etruscan civilization between 700 and 650 B. C., and in the eighth chapter we shall treat of Chiusi from its first beginnings down to about 650 B. C.

VII

THE SEVENTH CENTURY AT CAERE AND PRAENESTE

The Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere

THIS famous tomb is named after the two associates, Vincenzo Galassi, arch-priest at Cervetri, and Alessandro Regolini, an army general, who entered into a partnership in 1836 to discover and exploit such buried treasures as might be concealed on the ground included in the former's glebe. Their excavations, duly licensed by the authorities, took place on two distinct sites, and brought to light a number of very valuable antiquities, of which the most important were sold to the Vatican. No journal was kept, no observations or records were made on the spot, and it is not surprising that there has been endless error and confusion even in the accounts supposed to be authoritative. Of the objects ascribed to this tomb in the publication of the *Museo Etrusco Gregoriano* a good many have been proved to come from other tombs of which the contents were acquired at the same time; and some of the descriptions which accompany the authentic objects are quite misleading. In the last few years, however, the tangled skein has been unravelled by the patient diligence of Pinza, and the scientific world is indebted to him for the first trustworthy catalogue of the objects which really came from 'the great tomb of Caere', to which previously so much extraneous material had been credited.

Pinza had the good fortune to find in the papers of the old Archivio del Camerlengato an entire dossier of the business transactions, including invoices and an inventory signed by the two treasure-mongers, as well as the list made by the restorer who worked on the damaged specimens. With these and the indications furnished by the drawings and plans of Canina, who visited the site and had his observations to some extent corrected and checked by Galassi, it has been possible at once to expurgate and to complete the entire list of objects. Pinza also re-opened the tomb in 1906, on which occasion he was able to check many small details, to recover a few forgotten fragments, and to test the exactness of the architectural restorations given by Canina in his *Descrizione di Caere antica* (Rome, 1838). Pinza's account, as given in the *Mitteilungen des Archaeologischen Instituts*, 1907, supplemented by his elaborate volume entitled *Materiale per la etnologia antica Toscana-Laziale*¹ (Milan,

¹ *Materiale per la etnologia* . . . is the first of two Vatican Etruscan collection. It describes the volumes intended to include the whole of the jewellery and other goldsmiths' work (unfortunately

Hoepfli, 1915), will be the sole authority on which we shall rely in these pages. The reader who is not a mere bibliophile will probably be glad to know that it is lost labour to refer to Braun's communication in the *Bullettino dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (1836), or to Grifi's article in the *Supplemento al diario di Roma* (18 May 1836). Each of these two gentlemen visited the site and talked to the overseers and workmen, but they were less successful than some modern scientists in putting together the results of their conversations. Braun's communication is about as valuable as the letter of an intelligent school-girl to her parents, and Grifi's article is rather less satisfactory than such reports of archaeological discoveries as enterprising journalists now send to any evening newspaper.¹ Canina's work is, of course, on a different level, but, as neither he nor any outside observer was present during the twenty-four hours of feverish activity which sufficed for the clearing of the tomb, his observations have not the authority of an eyewitness, even though he acquired much information from the more responsible persons, including Galassi himself. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that to a great extent Canina's statements have been confirmed by Pinza's investigations, not only as to architectural details but also as to the arrangement of the objects in the tomb.²

The mound in which the great discovery was made is marked A in Canina's plan (*Descr. di Caere*, tav. 11), and is situated about 4 kilometres from the large continuous cemetery now shown to visitors which appears in the same plan as Necro-Caere or Banditaccia. It proved to be a tumulus of the same general appearance as several at Banditaccia, with a large central tomb and five separate smaller tombs wholly disconnected, which radiate into the mound from distinct points of the circumference. Canina was of opinion that the tumulus was formed in two stages, a small mound being first built over the central tomb and then enlarged so as to give space for the others (see Fig. 65).

When the site was re-visited in 1906 the five minor tombs had been destroyed in the process of making a vineyard, but local inhabitants remembered them perfectly.³ The central tomb, which is the only one that has any interest for us, has been repaired and is kept in good order for students to visit.

by different numbers from those used in Pinza's earlier account) but is not a complete catalogue. The only *complete* list yet published is the one which we reproduce below from the *Mitteilungen*.

¹ Grifi's later publication *Monumenti di Caere antica*, Rome, 1841, has a certain value for its drawings of objects, which, however, have now been reproduced by others.

² The drawings in *Etruria marittima* Pinza considers to be less trustworthy than those in the *Descrizione di Caere*. Everything that is of importance in either has been reproduced by Pinza,

and nearly everything by Montelius.

³ Thus confirming Canina's general plan as given in Fig. 65. Whether the exterior of the mound had the architectural outline given by Canina in his elevations (Tav. III of *Descr. di Caere*) may be doubted and has been doubted, but the question cannot ever be settled. In *Etruria Marittima*, a work which is easier to find than the *Descr. di Caere*, Canina has reproduced, in Plates 50-53, all his plans, elevations, and restorations of 'il principale sepolcro di Caere' as he terms the Regolini-Galassi tomb.

It is of unusual shape, a plain long gallery approached by steps, which descends with a sloping floor cut into the tufa to a depth of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres, and then, having reached this depth, continues on a horizontal plane for the rest of its length. Where the slope ends there is a slight narrowing of the gallery, a low step, and a change in the thickness of the roof, so that we may speak of two divisions, viz. an 'antechamber' and a 'chamber'. On the right and left of the antechamber are two niches cut in the rock. The sides of the 'antechamber' and 'chamber' are built up with horizontal lines of tufa blocks placed so as to heighten the natural wall of stone, and these blocks overlap one another at each successive course so as to form a false arch which is completed at the top by a single flat slab, not a voussoir (Fig. 66).

The two principal interments were in the chamber and antechamber; in the right-hand niche was a cremation-burial in a pottery ossuary. For the position of the most important objects the only real authority is the schematic sketch given by Canina, together with his descriptive notes. This sketch and a picturesque view of the interior, which may be accepted as sufficiently accurate for general purposes, are reproduced by Montelius (Plate 333). They give all the principal points of interest, but are not sufficiently exact to put one or two minor points altogether beyond doubt; in particular the identity of the various tripods and basins is open to some discussion. With this reservation we may proceed to describe the appearance of the antechamber and chamber.

On entering the antechamber from the outside the first objects to be viewed would be a bronze basin on its tripod, and a superbly decorated bronze stand (90). These are on the right wall, and almost opposite to them but a little farther towards the niche is the four-wheeled chariot. In front of the right-hand niche,

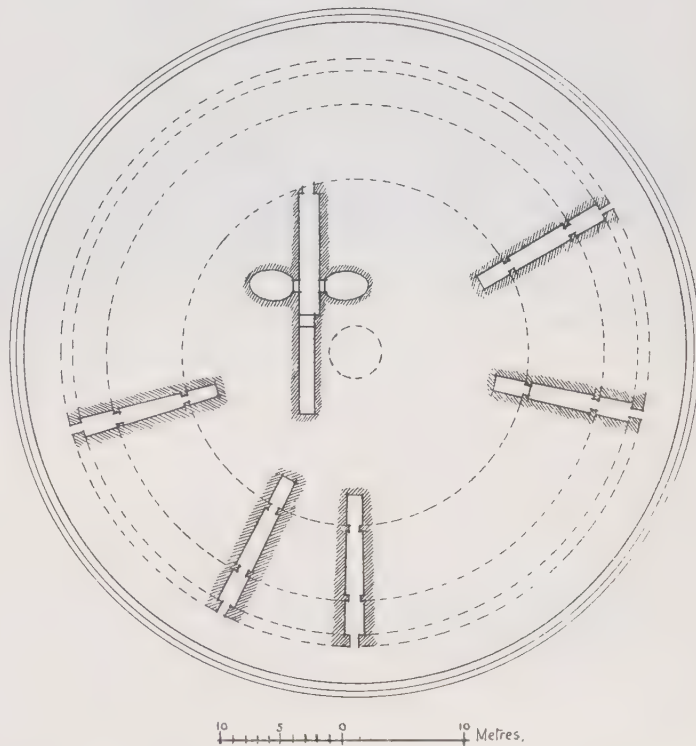


FIG. 65. Plan of the mound enclosing the Regolini-Galassi tomb. After Canina, *Etruria marittima* (Plate 52).

almost blocking all access to it, is the famous bronze bed, on which at the moment of discovery it is said that some of the bones were seen lying. Two tripods (if this is really the interpretation to be given to Canina's phrase)¹ stood, one at the head and the other at the foot of the bed. A bundle of iron javelins was at the foot of the bed; between it and the right-hand wall was the bronze 'censer' or 'porta-vivande' (79), and near by were the bronze andirons. There is some evidence that the iron dagger (63) was found with this

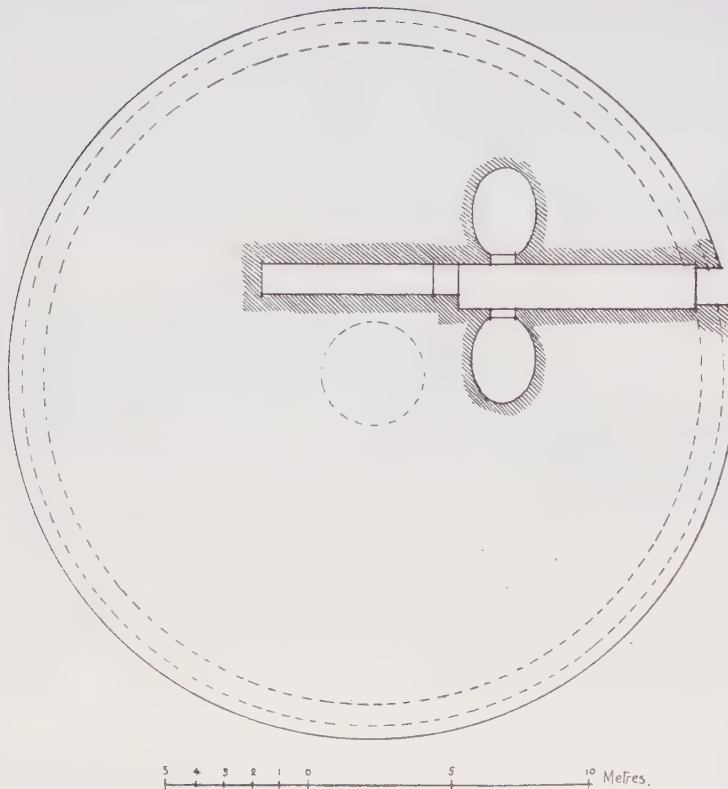


FIG. 66. Plan of the Regolini-Galassi tomb. After Canina, *Etruria marittima* (Plate 50).

body, and to it also belonged the silver belt-buckle (16), picked up exactly here in 1906. Along the walls were nailed bronze shields (76, 77), bundles of iron and bronze arrows (69, 70), and bronze spits (82), while down the central stone beam of the roof were nailed fluted bronze bowls.

From the character of all the objects in the antechamber there can be no doubt that it was a man and a warrior who was buried there; it seems no less certain that the person interred in the chamber itself must have

¹ 'Piccole are di ferro per domestici sacrificii.'
² The statement that there was a stone couch is erroneous and was only interpolated in later accounts owing to a misunderstanding.

³ Workmen nervously and excitedly extracting gold treasures from beneath fallen stones would have no interest or leisure for superfluous observations.

there, and that the burial was inhumation. The silver jug (48), the silver-plated situla (47), and the silver-gilt bowl and dishes (42-6), were found close to the place of the body, the bowl and dishes having probably fallen from the roof, where they would have been nailed next to one or more bronze dishes (91). The pair of great bronze cauldrons (87) rested on the top of the stones which formed a partial division between chamber and antechamber, and the inscribed silver cups (50) were nailed to the side posts. The third bronze cauldron with the six griffin-heads (89) was apparently in the chamber, although the stand belonging to it (90) was in the antechamber.

Of the left-hand niche no certain statements can be made,¹ and the right-hand niche was so badly cleared that there are several doubts in regard to it. Apparently it contained a certain amount of pottery (104-35), of which, however, only one piece, viz. a bucchero olla (129), was found intact. This olla contained cremated remains, and as there are no traces of cremation in any other part of the tomb, Pinza ascribes to the right-hand niche the two-wheeled chariot (59), the iron bracelets (62), and iron fibulae (61), all of which show traces of fire. When he reopened the tomb in 1906, Pinza found in this niche a number of fragments of pottery, amongst which were not only pieces of that yellow ware painted with red bands which occurs in the Tomba del Duce and in the Bernardini tomb, but also several others with red triangles or root-leaves at the base, which he suggests to be actually Corinthian. It is to be remembered, however, that these patterns occurred in the Bocchoris tomb of Corneto (see Plate 32, nos. 7 and 8), so that they might be even as early as 700 B. C., while the absence not only of all Attic but also of the true Corinthian ware painted with orientalizing animals is sufficient negative proof that even the right-hand niche is not as late as 650 B. C.²

As for the relative chronology of the three burials it would certainly appear from the circumstances that they are precisely simultaneous. The contents of the chamber and antechamber are so complementary and harmonious that there cannot be any appreciable lapse of time between them; while the position of the right-hand niche, all convenient access to which is barred by the bronze bed, almost forces us to consider that it was closed before the bed was placed

¹ Canina merely says that there were found in it *tazze diverse e non pochi altri oggetti di bronzo*.

² There is indeed one sherd exhibited which shows the back and the fore-paw of some animal in what looks like Corinthian style. But it is impossible to lay much stress on the occurrence of a sherd or even several sherds in a heap of rubbish excavated under those circumstances. The main tomb was lying open for a long while after its

excavation, and was surrounded with débris from the later tombs which might have fallen or been thrown into it. Had there been any painted vases as handsome as the orientalizing Corinthian it is reasonable to suppose that even Galassi's workmen would have collected them. And Braun stated positively that there was no pottery whatsoever except the olla.

there. And, as this elaborate tomb would scarcely have been constructed in order to contain so humble a burial as that in the niche, we cannot imagine that the niche itself was filled before the moment came to use the main chambers. It is tempting to hazard the guess that the man in the right-hand niche was a dependant, perhaps the charioteer, who was forced to accompany his master to the other world ; and while indulging in such harmless fancies one may also wonder whether perhaps the widow of the great man was not obliged by some custom, like suttee, to meet her death with him and to be buried beside him.

The complete inventory of all the objects found in the tomb is as follows.¹ In all cases where they have been illustrated we give the reference to the *first* edition of the *Museo Etrusco al Vaticano* and to Montelius's copies from it. A certain number of specimens are not illustrated in either place because they had not been identified until recently, or because they were in too fragmentary condition.

<i>Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' work</i>	<i>1st Ed. Mus. Etr.</i>	<i>Mont.</i>
1. Very large gold pectoral with repoussé figures in zones	Pl. 28, 29	341, no. 15
2-5. Gold plaques to be sewn on dress	{ Pl. 24, nos. 1-3, 5, 6 } Pl. 25	341, nos. 5, 9-14
6. Gold plaque ornamented in repoussé with a female figure between two lions	Pl. 25	—
7. Very large double-disc fibula of gold and gold-plated silver with lions and birds in repoussé	Pl. 32, 33	340, no. 5
8-10. A number of gold sanguisuga fibulae with longitudinal striations ²	—	—
11, 12. Two gold sanguisuga fibulae ornamented with filigree and granulation	Pl. 26	340, nos. 1, 3
13, 14. Bronze sanguisuga fibulae plated with gold	—	—
15. Part of silver belt-buckle plated with gold	—	—
16. Fragment of a silver comb-shaped belt-buckle	—	—
17. Three oval pendants of amber framed in gold	Pl. 26, nos. 3-5	340, no. 4
18. Gold chain of fine links with lion-head terminals	Pl. 31, nos. 1, 2	341, no. 2
19. Necklace of long biconical gold pendants alternating with spherical gold beads	Pl. 31, figs. 3-5	341, no. 3
20, 21. Three long fusiform gold pendants to which are attached fluted terminals decorated with lions and open flowers	Pl. 27, nos. 10, 11	340, no. 6

¹ Based on Pinza, *Röm. Mitt.* 1907, as already stated. The first edition of the *Museo Etrusco* (1842)

is preferred as being more accurate than the second.

² Eighteen of these fibulae unornamented.

<i>Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' work</i>	<i>Ist Ed. Mus. Etr.</i>	<i>Mont.</i>
22. Two gold pendants, ornamented with a female figure several times repeated in repoussé, and accessories in granulation	Pl. 27, nos. 1, 2	341, no. 1
23-5. Gold-plated silver beads, spherical and bottle-shaped	Pl. 24, nos. 9-12	339, no. 6
26. Gold-plated silver beads	—	—
27. Small gold human head as pendant	—	—
28. Fragments of gold-plated silver	—	—
29. Pair of gold bracelets with human figures in repoussé and details in granulation	Pl. 30	341, no. 4
30. Four small gold chains, perhaps as duplicate parts for the said bracelets	—	—
31. Seven gold-plated silver finger-rings	Pl. 27, nos. 4, 5	—
32. A gold finger ring	—	—
33. Two gold spiral hair-rings	Pl. 27, no. 8	—
34. Small double-head of lion in repoussé, details granulated	Pl. 27, no. 3.	—
35. Six small round bands of gold with filigree ornamentation	Pl. 24, nos. 13-15	—
36. Silver pendants, drop-shaped	Pl. 21, nos. 8, 9	—
37. Two silver bracelets of round section	Pl. 19, no. 3	337, no. 9
38. Four silver bracelets of flat section	Pl. 19, no. 5	—
39. Two silver rings	—	—
40. Bronze pin plated with silver and gold	Pl. 21, no. 4	—
41. Silver spindle	Pl. 21, no. 5	339, no. 8
42-6. One hemispherical bowl and four round dishes (much damaged) of gilded silver decorated with zones of pictorial scenes	Pl. 19, no. 6, 20, 21. } Pl. 22, nos. 1, 2. Pl. } 23, no. 1	338, nos. 1-4
47. Wooden situla sheathed with silver, decorated with figures and designs in repoussé	Pl. 19, nos. 2-4, 11. } Pl. 21, no. 10	339, nos. 14-16
48. Silver jug with patterned handle, and fragments of others	Pl. 19, no. 9	339, no. 7
49. A silver cup with gilded handles inscribed <i>Milarthia</i>	Pl. 19, no. 8.	339, no 9
50. Three silver cups all alike, of which two are inscribed <i>Larthia</i> and one <i>Milarthia</i>	Pl. 19, no. 7	339, no. 3
51. Fluted silver dish	—	—
52. Two or three hemispherical bowls of silver with fish-scale decoration at edge	Pl. 19, no. 10	339, no. 1
53. Silver cup with gilded handles	Pl. 19, no. 1	—
54. Small silver bell-shaped object, perforated	—	—
55. Silver chain of very fine links	—	—
56-7. Fragments of sheet silver with figures of lions in repoussé and a border of raised bosses	—	—

<i>Objects of Bronze, Iron, Wood, Ivory</i>	<i>1st Ed. Mus. Etr.</i>	<i>Mont.</i>
58. Four-wheeled chariot made of bronze with iron-covered wheels	Fragments in Pls. 16, 17, 18	336, nos. 2 to 4 and 339, nos. 10-12.
59. Parts of a two-wheeled chariot in bronze and iron, damaged by fire	—	—
60. Bronze bed with framework of bronze	Pl. 15, nos. 8, 9	336, no. 15
61. Parts of four iron fibulae	—	—
62. Three iron bracelets of cylindrical section	—	—
63. Iron dagger with wooden handle	Pl. 12, no. 9	—
64. Two iron spears	—	—
65. Seven iron javelin-heads	—	—
66. Two small iron implements with cylindrical handles	—	—
67. Small iron prism	—	—
68. Iron terminal sockets of a wooden bow	—	—
69. Iron arrows	Pl. 12, no. 7	—
70. Bronze arrows	Pl. 12, no. 6	—
71-3. Iron knives	—	—
74. Fragments of iron saw	—	—
75. Iron rod	—	—
76. Shields of thin bronze plate, remains of eight examples	Pls. 9, 10, 11, and 12, no. 3	337, nos. 15, 16
77. Four bronze centres of targes or wooden shields	Pl. 14, nos. 3, 4	335, no. 5
78. Remains of six flabella with bronze-shod handles	Pl. 12, no. 15	—
79. Bronze censer or ' porta-vivande '	Pl. 14, nos. 5, 6	336, no. 10
80, 81. Andirons of bronze and of iron	Pl. 12, nos. 12, 13	335, no. 3
82. Bronze spits	Pl. 13, no. 8	—
83. Bronze basin, plain	Pl. 13, no. 5	—
84. Iron tripod for aforesaid basin	—	—
85, 86. Bronze basin and iron tripod precisely like 83 and 84	—	—
87. Two bronze cauldrons each with five lion's heads attached to rim	Pl. 14, no. 1	335, no. 8
88. ¹ Two iron tripods perhaps for the aforesaid bronze cauldrons	—	335, no. 8 (boldly restored)
89. Bronze cauldron decorated with animals in repoussé and with six griffin-heads attached to the rim	Pl. 15, nos. 1, 2, 3	335, no. 2
90. Bronze stand decorated with figures ; perhaps belonging to the aforesaid decorated cauldron	Pl. 17, nos. 1, 2 Pl. 14, no. 2	335, no. 1 336, no. 7
91. Twelve fluted bronze paterae	—	—
92, 93. Fragments of small bronze basins	—	—
94. Fragments of a vase of cast bronze	—	—
95. Handle of a bronze vase	—	—
96, 97. Parts of small ivory ornaments	—	—

¹ There were in all only four tripods, viz. a small pair, nos. 84 and 86, and a large pair 88. The

examples given by Montelius in Plate 335, figs. 9, 10 do not belong to the tomb.

<i>Objects of Bronze, Iron, Wood, Ivory</i>	<i>1st Ed. Mus. Etr.</i>	<i>Mont.</i>
98. Small cylindrical ivory situla carved with figures (much damaged) in relief	Pl. 8, nos. 9-11	
99. Fragments of a rectangular ivory box carved with figure of man contending with a lion, and figures of lions and sphinxes	Pl. 8, nos. 4-6	{ wrongly given as 'alabaster' in Mont. 337, nos. 12, 13, 14
100. Dice and rings of ivory	—	—
101. Several beads and pendants of amber	—	—
102. Two glazed beads	—	—

Pottery

103. Thirty-three figurines in black bucchero.
- 104-135. All except 129 are fragments of pottery of various makes found when the tomb was re-opened in 1906. On these see the remark on page 199. The cups ornamented with red bands are illustrated on p. 131 of Pinza's article and the few fragments that he classes as 'Corinthian' on p. 133.
129. The ossuary from the right-hand niche, mentioned by Braun. It is of potter's clay, brown-black varying to dark red in colour, oval in shape and fitted with a cover of which the handle is formed by the figure of a horse modelled in the round. Illustrated in Mont., Plate 333, no. 5.

Of the various other pottery specimens illustrated by Montelius in his Plates 333 and 334, it is impossible to guarantee the provenance. Braun explicitly states that no pottery except the ossuary was found. This denial need not be conclusive, and it is quite likely that there was a certain amount of pottery, but as it was not considered sufficiently important to include in the bill-of-sale, it cannot be identified with any safety. The museum authorities have now excluded from the Regolini-Galassi tomb all pottery except the ossuary just mentioned and the sherds found in 1906 when the tomb was reopened for examination.

A certain number of other objects are also now excluded, as belonging either to the five minor tombs in the Regolini-Galassi mound or to wholly different tombs from another part of the site. They are at present being arranged in a separate case in the Vatican Etruscan Museum, and precisely labelled with their correct attribution so far as it is known.

We may now proceed to study the most important and interesting specimens as illustrated on our Plates 36, 37, 38. The bronze cauldrons ornamented with lion's heads (Plate 37, no. 87) at once recall the pair in the Circle of the Cauldrons at Vetulonia (p. 132 and Figs. 44, 45). The bronze censer or porta-vivande (Plate 37, no. 79) is to be compared with a similar specimen from the same Vetulonian tomb (p. 133 and Fig. 46). The silver jug (Plate 37, no. 48) is like one in the Tomba del Duce (Plate 21, bottom shelf), and the silver bowl (Plate 37, no. 52)

is like one in the First Circle of Le Pelliccie, while the two fibulae (No. 11 is shown in Plate 37) with their granulated geometrical designs might easily have come from a Vetulonian workshop. But here all close resemblances end, and though the Barberini and Bernardini tombs supply one or two more links, yet the absence of markedly Vetulonian types in all three tombs is more striking than the few points of resemblance. Another spirit reigns, the foreign element of imported art has begun to predominate, and a luxuriant wealth of decoration is replacing the simplicity of the native work. If Vetulonia as a whole belongs to the eighth century, then the Regolini-Galassi period must be assigned to the seventh.

The most striking evidence of the new movement is furnished by the decorated bowl and dishes (Nos. 42-6) with their pictorial scenes inspired by reminiscences of Egypt and Asia Minor. These will be discussed more fully in connexion with the other pieces of orientalizing silver-plate obtained from the two graves at Praeneste (see below, p. 213 and Plates 38 and 39). Next to these the most important specimens are the three magnificent gold ornaments shown in Plate 36, which offer several points of comparison with the gold work at Vetulonia and Marsiliana.

No. 1 in the inventory is perhaps the most gorgeous surviving specimen of Etruscan gold work. It is a huge pectoral 0.45 metre high, which from its dimensions almost deserves to be called a corslet, composed of thin sheet gold hammered round a plate of bronze or copper which has perished. The heart of it is formed by an escutcheon made up of four rows of repoussé figures above a row of palmettos. Round this are concentric zones of similar figures, twelve rows beneath and nine above, the whole being enclosed in a dog-tooth border. Fifteen distinct matrices were employed to obtain the figures, which repeat motives of frequent occurrence in this school of work. The top row of the escutcheon shows a man between two lions; below this a row of lions with flowers in their mouths; then comes a row of winged genii, then a row of winged sphinxes. Similar designs are repeated, with some additional animals in the encircling zones (see Plate 36, nos. 1 a, 1 b). It is interesting to compare the figures with those of the Vetulonian jewellery and of the Bocchoris tomb. Although the pectoral is so much more elaborate in design a similar motive of animals and palmettos occurs on the great fibulae of the Lictor's Tomb (Plate 27, no. 5), while on the small gold plaque found in the Bocchoris Tomb (Plate 31, no. 1) the row of lions is almost identical in style and spirit.

The small gold plaques numbered in the inventory as 2 to 5 are executed from similar matrices to those used for the pectoral, the lion with the lotus in his mouth being common to both series.

No. 7 in the inventory is an equally splendid ornament of huge dimensions, 0.32 metre in length. Its form is that of an elaborate fibula (Plate 36, no. 7 b) with two cross-bars in fine granulated work. The backbone is of plated silver, the decorated front of gold. On the larger of the two discs the central field is occupied by five lions in repoussé (Plate 36, no. 7 a) enclosed within a festooned border executed in granulation; this is followed by a plain band, round which again is a second granulated border of festoons. In the lower disc seven rows of ducks, made of sheet gold with granulated details, have been soldered on to the gold base, which is ornamented between them with six rows of winged lions executed in repoussé picked out with granulation.

This remarkable specimen may be compared with the example from the site of Ponte Sodo at Vulci, which is illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 261; the shape of the fibula is identical, but the Regolini-Galassi piece is finer in execution and more ambitious in design. The practice of soldering small birds shaped in the round on to the body of the fibula was observed in a specimen at Marsiliana (Plate 35, no. 1), and is carried to the extreme of elaboration in the famous ornament (Plate 41, no. 1) of the Bernardini tomb.

No. 29 of the inventory. Our Plate 36 shows one of a pair of gold bracelets of identical pattern, measuring 0.10 metre in diameter. Their form is quite different from that of the Vetulonian bracelets,¹ which were worked in filigree à jour, whereas these are made of sheet gold with bands of repoussé figures bordered by designs in granulation. The top band on each side represents the same scene, viz. a female figure standing upright between two much stylized palms. With each hand she holds one paw of a rampant lion, whose other paw is laid upon her shoulder. Behind each lion stands a warrior armed with a sword which he is in the act of plunging into the body of the beast. The only difference between the two sides of the bracelet is that the top scene is bordered in the one case by a curved maeander, and in the other by a row of lotus flowers. Beneath this mythological representation is a row of three identical female figures precisely resembling the first but unaccompanied by animals. This row is repeated five times to fill the surface between the two mythological scenes. From each of the four corners stands out a small human head. There is a double set of fastenings, one being formed by a narrow tongue with two hooks at one end which fit into two corresponding rings on the edge of the bracelet, while the other is composed of four very slender chains which hook on each side. The only close parallel to these bracelets is supplied by a pair in the British Museum, which were probably obtained from another tomb, perhaps at Caere, excavated by dealers at about the same time.¹

¹ Nos. 1356 and 1357, illustrated in Plate 18 of Marshall's *Catalogue of the Jewellery* . . . Also illustrated by Pinza in *Etnologia antica toscano-laziale*, Plate 1.

Of the minor gold work several specimens are shown in Plate 37, on which only two or three remarks are required. The two gold fibulae ornamented with granulated geometrical designs (Nos. 11 and 12) are quite in the Vetulonian style, and may be compared with one from the First Circle of Le Pelliccie. On the other hand the gold fibulae (Nos. 8-10) with longitudinal striations and the flat impression of a circle on each side (not illustrated in the plate) look like stylistic degenerations of the fine Vetulonian type seen in Fig. 41 from Aia Bambagini.

The pendants, Nos. 20 and 21, are reconstructed by Pinza to hang from the gold-framed amber pendants No. 17, which in turn are strung on the gold chain, No. 18; this, of course, must be conjectural.

The fragment of a gold-plated silver tube ornamented with granulated designs, No. 16, which was found when the tomb was re-opened in 1906, is interesting as showing that there must have been a comb-shaped buckle, of which this was the mid-rib; it is to be compared, therefore, with the example from Marsiliana, Plate 35, no. 2, and with those from Falerii, Veii, and the Bernardini tomb.

In the lower half of Plate 37 are shown some of the most important pieces of bronze work. The great cauldrons with the lion's heads attached (No. 87) are exactly similar to the Vetulonian examples (Figs. 44, 45 *supra*), but No. 89, with the six griffin-heads turned inwards, is of another school. The style of the repoussé figures of animals on the body of the basin proves that it belongs to the superb bronze stand No. 90, which was found at some distance from it. This stand, composed of several plates of hammered bronze joined and rounded after they had been decorated, is a wholly new form in metal work, though there are numerous pottery examples at Falerii.

The 'censer', or as others prefer to call it from the evidence of the late bucchero copies, the 'porta-vivande', No. 79, is of a type which was first seen in a simple form in the Circle of the Cauldrons at Vetulonia (p. 133 and Fig. 46); a very fine example was found at Veii.

The bronze bed, No. 60, is the only perfect example of a bronze bed in existence except one in the Louvre, which also came from Caere. It is of simple strong construction, the legs being of cast bronze and the framework of crossed bands of the same metal; the headpiece is decorated in repoussé with a boat of Egyptian type among palm trees.

Some fragments of bronze finely decorated in repoussé are of uncertain purpose. Most of them probably belong to the front of the larger chariot. From some others which look as if they came from a chair, Pinza has restored a seat or throne, but the restoration from such scanty material is rather

problematical. Of the chariots themselves too little has survived to make any restoration possible, which is the more regrettable, as it seems evident from Canina's record that the large four-wheeled chariot was practically complete at the time when the tomb was opened. If the two small bronze lions and the two bronze oxen shown in Montelius, Plate 336, figs. 2 and 4, belonged to this, we may suppose that it was quite elaborately decorated, though there are no traces of advanced bas-reliefs, such as those in the much later Monteleone chariot at New York. The repoussé designs (Montelius, Plate 339, nos. 10, 11, 12) of the fragments attributed to the four-wheeled chariot may be compared with those on the ossuary of the Tomb of the Prince (p. 117, Fig. 32); the same motives of animals and palmettos occur in each, and it cannot be said that the workmanship of the one is superior to that of the other. Similarly in regard to the shields, some of them (Montelius, Plate 337, fig. 16) are as simple in design as the shield from the Tomb of the Prince (our Plate 22, no. 8), though others (Montelius, Plate 337, fig. 15) show zones of animals alternating with the geometrical patterns. In short, whenever these two tombs allow of comparison it is found that they have so much in common that they cannot be *very* far apart in date, but that the Regolini-Galassi tomb contains various imported elements which do not occur at Vetulonia, and which are beginning to affect the native workmanship even in familiar objects of local origin.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 36, 37

PLATE 36. CAERE. *Gold ornaments of the Regolini-Galassi tomb.*

From Montelius, *La civilisation primitive*, Plates 340, 341, after the drawings in *Museo etrusco al Vaticano*.

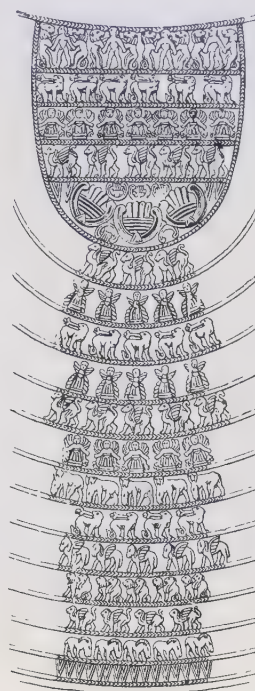
- 1 a. Large gold pectoral with repoussé figures in zones ; scale a little smaller than $\frac{1}{5}$.
- 1 b. Detail of a part of the same pectoral ; scale $\frac{2}{5}$.
- 7 a. Large gold fibula ornamented with rows of birds in the round, and figures of animals executed in repoussé with details in granulation ; scale $\frac{1}{3}$.
- 7 b. Profile view of one half of the same fibula ; scale $\frac{1}{3}$.
- 29. Bracelet of sheet gold ornamented with zones of figures in repoussé enclosed with borders of granulated work ; scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

PLATE 37. CAERE. *Ornaments and other metal-work in the Regolini-Galassi tomb.* From Montelius, op. cit., Plates 335, 336, 339, 340, 341, after *Museo etrusco al Vaticano*. The numbers used correspond to those in our inventory.

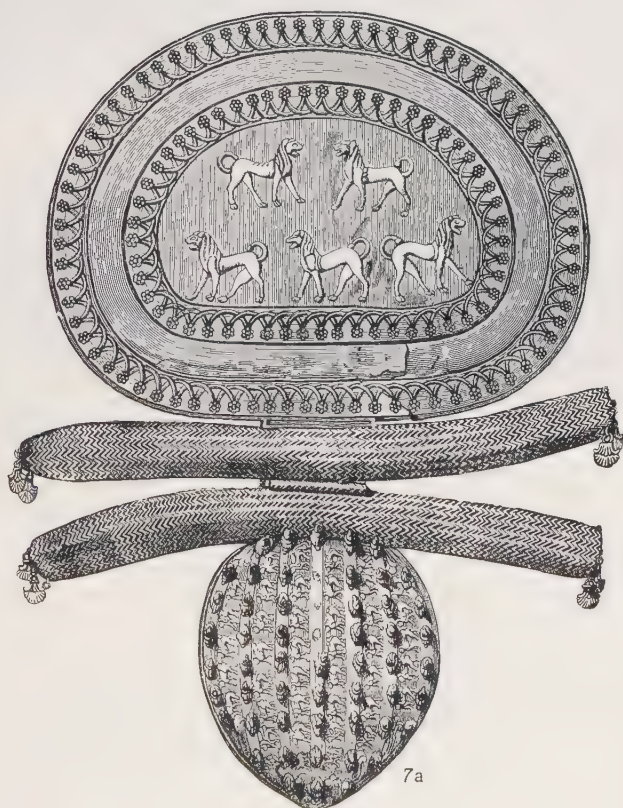
No. 5, gold ; scale $\frac{3}{4}$. No. 11, gold ; scale $\frac{3}{4}$. No. 12, gold ; scale $\frac{3}{4}$. No. 17, amber and gold ; scale $\frac{1}{3}$. No. 18, gold ; scales $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{7}$. No. 20, gold ; scale $\frac{1}{3}$. No. 48, silver ; scales $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{2}{5}$. No. 49, silver ; scale $\frac{1}{6}$. No. 50, silver ; scale $\frac{1}{6}$. No. 52, silver ; scale $\frac{1}{4}$. No. x, silver ; scale $\frac{1}{6}$ (this being a specimen omitted from Pinza's inventory, but still included in the revised case in the Vatican). No. 60, bronze ; scale $\frac{1}{28}$. No. 79, bronze ; scale $\frac{1}{14}$. No. 87, bronze ; scale $\frac{1}{12}$. No. 89, bronze ; scale $\frac{1}{8}$. No. 90, bronze, scale $\frac{1}{14}$.



1a



1b



7a



7b



29

CAERE. Gold Ornaments from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb



CAERE. Gold, Silver, and Bronze work from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb

The Bernardini Tomb of Praeneste

Precisely contemporary with the Regolini-Galassi tomb are two famous treasure finds from Praeneste (Palestrina), of which the first and best known is exhibited in the Museo Preistorico at Rome, while the second, after being housed for many years in the Barberini Library, has been acquired for the State and placed in the Museo di Villa Giulia.

The tomb in the Museo Preistorico is known by the name of ' Bernardini ' from the two brothers who furnished the money for excavations on the Frollano estate at Palestrina in 1876. This was another purely commercial speculation, which the Government licensed but took no steps to control, so that no scientific man was present during the work, and not even the most casual notes or observations were made. Helbig visited the spot just after the excavation had been finished and when it had been partly filled in again. He has attempted ¹ to give a description of the tomb based on a cross-examination of the workmen, but it should be self-evident that very little reliance can be placed upon information gleaned under these circumstances. Helbig's plan of the tomb and his statements as to the points where objects were found are too conjectural to be admissible as evidence, and it is better frankly to admit that we do not know and never possibly can know anything about the form of construction. The most that can be said is that there were no traces of important architecture, so that if any tumulus or chamber ever existed it must have been mostly destroyed before the excavations were begun.

A brief notice of the discovery was inserted in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1876 (pp. 21 and 40), followed a little later by a full and clear description of the contents of the tomb (*Not. Sc.* 1876, pp. 113-26), drawn up by a commission headed by Conestabile, which was appointed to report on the advisability of purchasing for the State. The purchase was recommended and executed, and the collection was installed in the Museo Preistorico at Rome, where it has remained ever since. No adequately illustrated account, however, was published until 1919,² when the American Academy at Rome brought out in volume iii of its *Memoirs* an admirable and exhaustive study by C. D. Curtis, accompanied by a complete series of very fine photographs. This work is so easily accessible that it brings the Bernardini tomb within the range of any archaeologist's library. The description and analysis in the following pages are largely indebted to it, and the same reference-numbers are used because they are the actual inventory-numbers employed by the Museo Preistorico.

¹ In *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1876, pp. 117-31.

xxxiii) which give drawings of the most important

² Although there are four plates in the *Monumenti dell' Istituto* for 1876 (nos. xxxi- subjects. These drawings are the original basis of most reproductions, including my own.

Objects of Imported Workmanship at Caere and Praeneste

Silver bowls. The peculiarity which links together the three tombs studied in this chapter and proves them to be precisely contemporary with one another, is the presence in each of certain very rare and highly characterized imported objects. Chief among these are silver bowls and dishes ornamented with pictorial scenes directly inspired by Oriental life and landscape. Five of these have been enumerated in the Regolini-Galassi catalogue; the Bernardini tomb contains another set of three¹; and there is one in the Barberini tomb which might have come from the same workshop, and must have been executed almost in the same year as the others. The most interesting of the Regolini-Galassi examples is shown in our Plate 38, no. 1, and three from the Bernardini tomb are reproduced in Plates 38 and 39.²

The scene shown in Plate 38, no. 2 is taken from the bottom of a silver bowl, 0.14 metre high, covered inside and out with a thick sheet of gold, which is numbered 23 in the inventory of the Bernardini tomb. It is decorated with four horizontal bands and a circular medallion, all containing engraved figures, with some details in slightly embossed relief. The top band consists of a row of geese, the second of warriors and horsemen with a chariot and a hunting scene, the third is very similar to the second, while the fourth, together with the central medallion, is reproduced in our illustration. This shows a hill on which there lies a prostrate man, over whom stands a lion with one paw on the man's head, while a vulture hovers above; in front of the man grows a long-stemmed lily. In the zone surrounding the medallion, about a third (upside down to the reader) is occupied by a fight between men and lions. A pair of lions are mauling a bull while vultures hover above; on one side a mounted archer shoots Parthian-fashion at one of the wild beasts, while on the other a man on foot, assisted by a dog, attacks a third lion with his sword. In the remainder of the zone the country people are seen at their peaceful avocations; kine are walking undisturbed among high-stemmed lilies and beneath palms, while ducks, instead of carrion birds, fly above them; a hunter with small game slung over his shoulder follows his pair of horses; a man with an adze is chopping at a date-tree, and a woman in a long garment is plucking grapes from a vine which is looped between two date-bearing palms. It is a strange medley, suggesting Africa, Egypt, and the Aegean combined in

¹ Or four if the bowl no. 24 with its simple figures of animals is included.

² The Regolini-Galassi examples are illustrated, as already stated above, in *Mus. Etr.* 1st ed.,

Plates 19-23 and Montelius, Plate 338. For the Bernardini examples see Curtis, Plates 12-18, 20-3, and Montelius, Plates 367-9.

a fantastic dream. Round the rim of the bowl, perhaps to fit it for some ritual use, the Etruscan owner has nailed six long-necked heads of serpents in silver, thus giving it a form which recalls the Vetulonian cauldrons. The rosettes at the base of the serpent-necks partly obliterate the figures of geese in the top row (Curtis, pp. 34-37, with his Plates 12-18).

In Plate 39, no. 1, is shown the most famous piece in the whole series, a shallow silver bowl, numbered 26 in the Bernardini inventory. Whereas the scenes on the bowl No. 23 were a medley of suggestions derived from several different countries, here they are perfectly homogeneous and inspired entirely by reminiscences of Egypt. Round the outside edge runs a pseudo-inscription composed of hieroglyphic groups, and at each of the cardinal points is a Nile boat carrying deities with Egyptian attributes. Between each boat in a thicket of papyrus stands a figure of Isis suckling the infant Horus. This outer zone is separated in turn from the central medallion by another circular band of hieroglyphs, within which is a parody of the traditional Pharaoh triumphing over his enemies. The king grasps by their long hair a group of cowering captives whom he menaces with the mace uplifted in his right hand. Before the king is Horus in the act of presenting him with a flower; behind him is a human follower dragging a captive by the hair, while a vulture hovers over the group and a prostrate figure grovels beneath. Every one of these details is derived from an Egyptian prototype, but not one of them is executed in the Egyptian spirit. This is the Egypt of the opera *Aïda*, a good deal earlier than Verdi, but conceived in precisely the same vein of romance. The hieroglyphs are as speciously inexact as those on the painted columns in the stage palace; the boats, the figures, and all the accessories have precisely that degree of verisimilitude which belongs to operatic scenery. Whoever the artist may have been that designed this fascinating work for a western patron he had certainly never seen the Nile, any more than an eighteenth-century European had seen the temples and pagodas that he introduced into his 'chinoiserie'. But to what race or people did the artist belong?

Over the extended wing of the vulture above the king's head can be discerned a very minute inscription of fourteen letters which, unlike the pseudo-hieroglyphs, are exact and easily translatable. The script is Phoenician, and reads Eshmunyaad ben Ashto,¹ a Semitic name of perfectly correct formation written, as Curtis has usefully shown, with characters of the eastern rather than the Carthaginian² form. What its significance may be is uncertain; it does not carry the preposition which is usually attached to express ownership, nor yet

¹ Published in *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i, no. 164, p. 214.

² Curtis, p. 44, note 2.

the word usually appended to denote the signature of an engraver. In itself, therefore, the inscription does not prove either Phoenician ownership or origin, though it certainly establishes that the bowl passed through Phoenician hands.¹

The Cesnola collection from Cyprus, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, contains a bowl which must have been decorated by the same hand as No. 26 of the Bernardini tomb. It combines a version of the hunting scene presently to be described from bowl 25 with the same central medallion as No. 26.² The Cypriote parallels with our bowls are throughout very close, as may be seen from the examples found at Idalion, Kurion, Amathus, and other sites in the island.³ On all the bowls except 26 are depicted not scenes from the Nile but processions of chariots, horsemen, and foot-soldiers, combats of men with lions, and stories of unknown epic and mythology. Typical of the latter is No. 25 of the Bernardini inventory, which is reproduced in our Plate 39, no. 2. It is a shallow silver platter, 0.19 metre in diameter, covered with a sheet of gold on the inside, surrounded by the figure of a serpent and ornamented with engraved bands supplemented by a little relief. The central medallion depicts a male figure clad in a loin-cloth seizing by one arm an enemy whom he threatens with uplifted spear. Behind him a naked enemy is bound to a stake, while a third, prostrate beneath the conqueror's feet, is being mangled by a jackal. The zone surrounding this is filled with a procession of horses, the same figure being eight times repeated beneath two flying ducks. Round this, in the outside zone, is an epic or mythological tale told in a succession of scenes. The story begins at the city gate, in the right-hand top corner, whence a chariot is issuing. To the left of this the chariot appears again, but the principal person has descended from it and is shooting with his bow at a stag leaping down a hill. Beyond this the same person is seen in a long kingly robe on the top of the hill again shooting at a fleeing stag. The fourth scene shows the horses unharnessed and feeding from a manger while the hunter hangs up his venison, after which he sits down before a table spread with steaming food. The remaining pictures relate the theft of the king's food by a hairy monster emerging from a cavern in a hill on which wild animals are sporting. The monster is discomfited with the aid of a winged deity, who sweeps up the chariot, king and all, and bears him in his claws to triumph. After which the king slays the monster with his axe and drives home to the city gate whence he issued (Curtis, pp. 40-43, and Plates 20, 21 of his memoir).

¹ One of the bowls in the Cesnola collection, viz. no. 4552, is described in Cypriote characters which are read as 'I am the bowl of Epiortes' Myres, *Cat. of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 459.)

² Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, no.

4556, p. 463, and Marquand in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1887, p. 322.

³ For illustrations see Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and its Dependencies* (English edition, 1884) figs. 270, 271, 272, 276.

This is the most complete and consecutive story that appears. Next to it in interest is the Regolini-Galassi platter illustrated in our Plate 38, no. 1, which is wholly free from Egyptian atmosphere. The central medallion shows two lions mauling a bull in almost exact repetition of the lowest scene in the Bernardini bowl beneath it (Plate 38, no. 2). In the zone surrounding this, men on horseback and on foot are fighting the lions with bows, spears, and swords, again duplicating details of the same Bernardini bowl. In the outside band is a chariot followed by three foot-soldiers, and followed or preceded by four companies, each composed of five foot-soldiers with a mounted man at their head. The lion hunt does not appear again in the other Regolini-Galassi examples, which show only processions of chariots with horsemen and foot-soldiers (Montelius, Plate 338, figs. 1-5). The only Egyptian suggestion in any of them is the cow in a papyrus thicket, which occurs as the central medallion in one instance (Montelius, Plate 338, fig. 3).

The engraved bowls and plates of these three tombs have been the theme of much discussion and debate. They were studied as early as 1876 by Helbig, who published an essay strongly maintaining their Phoenician origin.¹ As a pioneer work this essay has still a certain interest, though it is marred by some strained and fallacious reasoning. Much more suggestive and valuable to readers of the present day is the recent work of Poulsen,² who supports the Phoenician hypothesis with more moderation and has collected a greater quantity of comparative material. The question of origin, however, cannot be decided until the archaeological field of Ionia and the Levant has been more fully explored.³

¹ Helbig, *Cenni sopra l'arte fenicia* in *Ann. Corr. Arch.* 1876.

² Poulsen, *Der Orient und die früh-griechische Kunst*, Leipzig, 1912. In this work the reader who may desire to follow the subject more fully will find complete bibliographical references.

³ Cf. Myres on the specimens 'of mixed

oriental style' in the Cesnola collection. 'The chronology of this large group is very obscure and the place of manufacture uncertain. The workmanship is certainly not Egyptian, and as it varies greatly in style there may have been several local schools in Cyprus, Phoenicia and perhaps elsewhere also.' *Cat. of Cesnola Collection*, p. 457.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 38, 39

PLATE 38. CAERE and PRAENESTE. *Silver bowls decorated with oriental scenes.* From Montelius, *op. cit.*, Plates 338, 367.

No. 1 comes from the Regolini-Galassi tomb ; scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

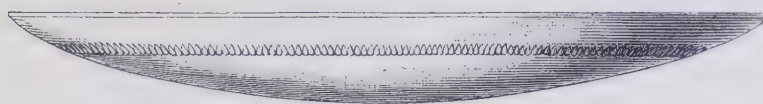
No. 2 is from the Bernardini tomb ; scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

PLATE 39. PRAENESTE. *Silver bowls in the Bernardini tomb.*

From Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Plates 368, 369, after the drawings in *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, vol. x.

No. 1. Scenes strongly inspired by Egyptian motives, surrounded with bands of Egyptian hieroglyphs, nonsensically combined into the semblance of an inscription ; scale a little larger than $\frac{2}{5}$.

No. 2. Scenes with no suggestion of close Egyptian influence ; in the outside row is the complete epic story of a king's hunting adventures ; scale a little larger than $\frac{3}{5}$



CAERE and PRAENESTE. Silver Bowls. 1 from the Regolini-Galassi, 2 from the Bernardini Tomb



PRAENESTE. Silver Bowls from the Bernardini Tomb

Carved ivories. From the same foreign school of art as the engraved silver must have come the carved ivories which appeared first at Marsiliana and are found sparsely in the Regolini-Galassi, but quite abundantly in the Bernardini and Barberini tombs.¹ In the latter the condition is so fragmentary that no complete picture can be described, but several isolated scenes have been recovered from which it is possible to judge the general nature of the subjects. Some of the most representative pieces are shown in our Plate 40, where nos. 1 to 5 are from the Bernardini and nos. 6 to 8 are from the Barberini tomb.² Here, again, the scenes fall into two classes which do not appreciably overlap, viz. one in which there are Egyptian traits and the other in which there are none. Quite suggestive of Egyptian influence is No. 4 with the figures in a Nile boat made of papyrus-reeds. In No. 1 the horseman rides through a papyrus thicket, while the plaque illustrated in No. 5 shows a detailed treatment of the lotus, which is almost in the true Egyptian manner. On the other hand the chariots and horsemen (Plate 40, no. 3, and Curtis, Plate 36, 37) are quite un-Egyptian, and should rather be compared with the art of Syria and Asia Minor. Among the representatives of animals the most frequent and dominant figure is the lion. Just as the lion hunt was a favourite subject with the silversmiths of this school, so the ivory carvers show lions and bulls in combat or a lion with the corpse of a man on his back (Plate 40, no. 6). The most complete scene of this kind, however, is given by the ivory pyxis of Marsiliana, mentioned already on p. 184.

From this highly characterized foreign school we pass to a more familiar style which closely resembles the native Etruscan work. The ivory cup on its high stand (Plate 40, no. 7) or the ivory wands (Plate 40, no. 8) show only figures and designs which might have been executed by any craftsman of this period who had learned the traditions of Vetulonia and Tarquinii. These and almost all the remaining objects in the Bernardini and Barberini tombs, excepting the silver bowl, Bernardini, No. 24, and the superb blue glass bowl found within it, may reasonably be claimed as the products of Etrurian workmen.

The full inventory of the Bernardini and Barberini tombs has been relegated to the appendix in order to avoid overloading this chapter with tabular matter, but the most important objects in each may now be described in the order of their kind and material.

¹ Poulsen points out the probability of a Cypriote origin for some of these, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130.

² Curtis describes these and many other fragments from the Bernardini tomb with great care and minuteness, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-65.

The Bernardini Tomb of Praeneste (continued)

Jewellery and Ornaments. It cannot be said that the jewellery and ornaments of the Bernardini tomb are so interesting and original as those of the Regolini-Galassi.¹ The three finest pieces are shown in our Plate 41, and correspond to Nos. 1-3 of the inventory.² Of these No. 1 is remarkable for its size and extraordinary intricacy rather than for any special grace or beauty; a similar specimen occurs in the Barberini tomb, and both must be regarded as exaggerated and over-developed forms of the comb-shaped belt-buckle. Simpler examples of the same type must have been the clasps of which fragments are listed as Nos. 4, 5, 6 of the inventory. The foundation of No. 1 is a rectangular plaque of pure gold, 0.17 metre long by 0.067 metre wide, on to which are soldered a number of small gold plates which serve as stands for little figures of animals moulded in the round and ornamented with granulated lines. A gold tube ornamented with filigree bisects the plaque lengthways, and carries on its back nine strange animals, viz. two sets of four lions on either side of a double-ended lion which faces both ways. Each of these creatures has a second smaller head in the middle of its body. On either side of this central tube and facing away from it is a row of twelve seated lions, followed by a row of twelve standing lions. Outside these again is a row of fourteen seated lions with human heads on their backs, while the external row on each of the two long sides is formed by fifteen human-headed birds, and on each of the short sides by eight standing horses. Finally the margin of each short side is defined by a round tube of which each end terminates in a lion's head, while two small human Janus-heads project from one margin. It is interesting to see the same motives, especially the lions carrying human heads, which occur on the imported silver and ivory, repeated on this barbaric product of the native Etruscan goldsmith.

No. 2 which is also illustrated in our Plate 41, is a large serpentine fibula of pure gold, 0.117 metre in length. In design it is very similar to one found in the Tomba del Duce (see Fig. 33).

Of the same type is a serpentine gold fibula exhibited with the contents of the Bernardini tomb and generally included in the illustrations (Montelius, Plate 370, no. 3). The extraordinary interest of it is that on the sheath-shaped catch-point is incised an inscription which has been regarded as one of the earliest known in any Italic dialect. The words, reading from right to left, are 'Manios

¹ The objects from the Bernardini tomb are illustrated by Montelius in his Plates 366-70, and are described by Helbig in his *Guide to the Collections*

in Rome, vol. 2, which gives a bibliography of the discussions on individual objects.

² See inventory in Appendix A.

med the faked Numasioi', that is to say, 'Manios made this for Numasios'.¹ It is essential that the student should realize that there is no trustworthy evidence whatsoever to prove that this fibula belongs to the tomb. According to the statement in the *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1887, in which the fibula was first made known, it was purchased five years before the tomb was even discovered. This statement may be erroneous, and the Museum authorities may have some good ground for believing that the fibula originally formed part of the Bernardini tomb, and was stolen from it by workmen or others; but it is quite impossible to accept it as part of the tomb-furniture without complete and satisfactory proof.

Nevertheless the fibula, if genuine—and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness—is very important and valuable. I do not agree with Curtis that its style and workmanship are sufficiently different from the example illustrated in Plate 41, no. 2, to oblige us to regard it as later in date. It belongs to a definite class of forms absolutely characteristic of the advanced Vetulonian period, and found even in the Pania tomb of Chiusi (see below, pp. 249, 250 and Fig. 68), but not any later, so far as I am aware. Its date may, therefore, be considered to be practically the date of the Bernardini tomb, though scientific accuracy forbids us to include it in the actual contents of that tomb. It should be pointed out, moreover, that the Manios fibula is not unique, for in Montelius, Plate 378, no. 2, is illustrated another serpentine gold fibula of the same general class, which carries on its catch-point an inscription worked in fine granulated letters.² The words in this case are Etruscan, but the example furnishes a confirmation, if any be needed, of the authenticity of the Manios inscription. No. 3, illustrated in our Plate 41, is a comb-shaped belt-clasp of a type which has been mentioned several times, and is well represented by examples at Marsiliana (cf. Plate 35, no. 3). It differs from Nos. 4–6 in having its central piece flat instead of tubular. The plaque is ornamented with a row of birds and animals in relief, with details in granulation. In the centre are two winged lions with human heads, standing back to back. On each side of these are three flying birds, while the last figure at each side is that of a lion in full trot. Round the margin is a delicate band of filigree ornament.

Nos. 4, 5, 6 (Curtis, Plate 5) represent parts of other belt-clasps in which the central piece was a tube. Two of the tubes are ornamented only with geometrical designs in granulation, but one, No. 4, carries a row of gold lions on either side. This type of belt-clasp occurred in a simple form at Marsiliana, and is known also from Falerii and Veii. The British Museum possesses a very

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* xiv, 4123. Discussed in *Röm. Mitt.* 1887, p. 40.

² Described in *Mon. Inst.* 1855, Plate X.

fine example, which is illustrated in Marshall's *Catalogue*.¹ Nos. 16 and 17 (Curtis, Plate 9) are gold-plated silver clasps, of a design which has not been observed in any previous set of jewellery, but which occurs again (Fig. 67) in the Barberini tomb.² In No. 16, which is the simpler, the two transverse bars which form the opposite edges of the clasp are ornamented with granulated lines and with little lion-headed sphinxes in the round. In No. 17 there are human-headed sphinxes on the transverse bars and small human heads at the end of each of the longitudinal bars. The human heads are female, with hair which is indicated by vertical lines of granulation.

Under No. 18 are listed fragments of five silver fibulae (Curtis, Plate 8), none of which can be restored. Their original length would have been 0.06 metre, and the form is that of a sheath-shaped catch-plate with the bow formed by the body of an animal. Fibulae with the body of an animal are no novelty; a fine example occurred in the Tomb of the Lictor at Vetulonia, but the animals in these five instances are quite new and strange. Like the lions on the great gold plaque they carry a second head in the middle of their backs.

Passing from purely personal ornaments to other types of goldsmiths' work we are struck with the perfect beauty of the gold skyphos, numbered 20 in the inventory, with two seated sphinxes on each handle. This is illustrated by Curtis (Plate 10) with a fine photograph, which is the only way to do it justice. The sphinxes are 'made in the usual manner, of two corresponding plates of gold which were beaten into a mould to give them their form and then soldered together and ornamented with granulations in single rows. They have large round human heads, and small wings which project very little from the body. The wings are ornamented with parallel rows of granulated lines which slant downward and backward, giving the impression of wings folded against the body'.³ This is the only gold vase which has been found in any Italian tomb of the period, and is distinctly the most interesting piece of goldsmiths' work next to the imported silver bowls and plates with their orientalizing scenes. These have been sufficiently described already except No. 24, a small gold-plated silver bowl which should perhaps be considered as belonging to the imported series, but is much less characteristic than the others. It is decorated on the interior only, with a rosette of twenty-five petals at the bottom, above which is a row of horses, and then a row of bulls alternating with trees; two birds fly above each of the bulls. It will be seen that these are merely one or two motives borrowed from the elaborate and complicated designs of the more valuable bowls.

¹ Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum*, no. 1372, London, 1911.

² For similar examples in the British Museum cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, nos. 1370, 1371.

³ Quoted from Curtis, *op. cit.*

Next in order in the inventory are two very handsome weapons decorated with goldsmiths' work. The first, No. 27, is a bronze dagger with amber handle and silver sheath (our Plate 42, no. 2). From the point to the end of the hilt of the weapon is 0.375 metre. The blade and core of the hilt are made in a single piece; the pommel is formed of two chunks of amber, and there was probably an inlay of amber lower down between the raised edges of the hilt. These edges are covered and concealed by a strip of gold ornamented with granulated triangles. There is no decoration on the sheath.

No. 28 is an iron dagger with ivory and amber handle (Curtis, Plate 25; Montelius, Plate 369). It fits into a beautiful silver sheath which terminates in a gold flower, and is embossed on each side with scenes in relief. These recall the hunting scenes on the figured bowls. On the obverse is a hunter kneeling to aim with his bow at a row of animals, of which the nearest are stags; after this in the next row are lions and bulls in conflict. The reverse shows a lion pursuing a centaur; the conflict of a man with a lion; bulls and sheep; and a man armed with two clubs kneeling beside two grazing animals.

The silver bowls, plates, and cups, numbered 32 to 39, need no special remark. The bowl of dark-blue glass, No. 60, is a unique specimen, and obviously imported. Nos. 61 and 62 are glazed pottery specimens of unknown origin, but certainly not Egyptian. The fragments of 'proto-Corinthian' ware with linear decoration, numbered 63 in the inventory, are not mentioned in any of the earlier records of the tomb, and it cannot, therefore, be considered quite certain that they belong to it. There is no inconsistency in their presence, as they would belong to precisely the period suggested by all the other objects in the tomb. The absence of any true Corinthian pottery, however, is valuable as an evidence of date.

Bowls, tripods, &c., of bronze. Among the bronze specimens numbered 64 to 82 in the inventory are several which deserve remark, and two or three which are of considerable importance. No. 64 is an incomplete bowl, of which several fragments are missing, with hammered decoration in very high relief. Four human heads, wearing 'layer-wigs' and separated from each other by lily flowers held in their hands, occupy the top half of the outside. Below these were apparently four animal-heads, viz. two of bulls and two of lions, while the serpent-tails of mythical creatures are entwined between the two rows (Curtis, Plates 44, 45). All the heads are in such very high relief that the craftsman adopted two remarkable methods of procedure. To give sufficient support and stability he filled their hollow bronze forms with a light porous paste, and to conceal the inequalities produced on the inside of the bowl, he lined the bowl with an interior bronze casing. This casing became detached,

and has been recorded in the inventory as a separate 'Vase of oval form, very tall and perfectly smooth'; but Curtis has proved that its broken edges exactly fit the corresponding places in the decorated bowl. A specimen of similar design to No. 64 occurs in the Barberini tomb. The same device of an interior lining was adopted for No. 65, a bronze bowl with human heads and bulls' heads all modelled in high relief, the surface of which is too much corroded to allow any fair judgement on the quality of the work (Curtis, Plate 46).

No. 72 is a tripod of bronze and iron supporting a bronze basin. On the outside of the basin are attached six poorly modelled figures of bronze, three of which are dogs and three are men. They are so placed that they appear to be looking over the edge of the bowl into the interior; a new scheme in the decoration of such pieces. The tripod has three bronze feet, from each of which spring one iron leg and two iron braces (our Plate 42, no. 1).

No. 75 is a large hammered bronze cauldron¹ like those of the Circle of the Cauldrons at Vetulonia, originally ornamented with two winged human figures of cast bronze and six griffin-heads of hammered bronze attached to the outside near the rim (Curtis, Plates 52-4). In the semi-circular ridge extending below the two arms of the human figures some authors claim to see a reminiscence of the winged sun²; but a more obvious suggestion in these figures is that of the Egyptian Ba or soul-bird. The griffin-heads and necks are filled with a bituminous mixture inside, and the eyes are filled with white paste on which the pupils are indicated in dark blue.

No. 81 is a tall, conical bronze stand ending in the form of a capital. This is a type which is found in the Barberini tomb, but is otherwise unique. The stand is 0.91 metre in height, formed of a thin sheet of bronze with ornamentation in low relief. The greater part of the surface is occupied by two pairs of winged heraldic horses, each standing on its hind legs facing its neighbour. Over the horses is a broad band of lotuses with alternating birds and flowers, above which the stand terminates in a debased imitation of the capital of a column. This capital begins with a round moulding, above which is a frieze of much stylized uraeus serpents, over which again is a row of leaves hanging down from the circular top of the stand (Curtis, Plates 58, 59; Montelius, Plate 367, no. 7).

¹ Discussed with other similar basins, by Furtwängler, *Olympia*, vol. iv., pp. 119-24.

² Cf. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 40, 41, 42

PLATE 40. PRAENESTE. *Ivory carvings from the Bernardini tomb* (nos. 1-5) and *Barberini tomb* (nos. 6-8).

Nos. 1-4 are from Montelius, op. cit., Plate 366 ; scale of nos. 1-3 is not quite $\frac{2}{3}$; scale of no. 4 is not quite $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. 5 is from vol. iii of the *Memoirs of the American Academy* at Rome.

Nos. 6-8 are from the photographs illustrating Della Seta's catalogue (*Museo di Villa Giulia*, Plates 56, 57) ; scale of no. 6 is not quite $\frac{1}{2}$, of no. 7 is $\frac{2}{3}$, of no. 8 not quite $\frac{1}{2}$.

PLATE 41. PRAENESTE. *Gold ornaments in the Bernardini tomb*. From Montelius, op. cit., Plates 369, 370, after the drawings in *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, vol. x.

No. 1. A large belt-clasp of exaggerated form and barbaric taste, ornamented with rows of lions, horses, and human-headed birds in the round, soldered on to an oblong plaque ; scale $\frac{4}{5}$.

No. 2. Plain gold fibula of the same type as one found at Vetulonia in the Tomba del Duce. Full size.

No. 3. Part of a comb-shaped belt-buckle in gold, ornamented with figures and birds in repoussé, with details in granulation. Round the edge of the oblong midrib is a pattern in filigree ; scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

PLATE 42. PRAENESTE. *Bronze vessels and implements from Bernardini and Barberini tombs, with a silver situla from Castellani tomb*.

1-4 and 8-10 from Montelius, op. cit., Plates 364-6, 369.

5-6 from Poulsen, *Der Orient und die früh-griechische Kunst*.

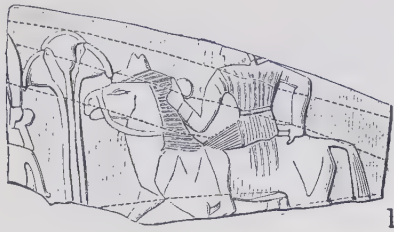
7 from Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Plate 55.

No. 1. Bronze tripod and basin ; scale $\frac{1}{2}$. No. 2, bronze dagger with silver sheath ; scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 3, bronze andirons ; scale $\frac{1}{12}$. No. 4, bronze situla ; scale $\frac{1}{3}$. These are 72, 27, 76, 79 in the inventory of the Bernardini tomb.

No. 5, bronze throne ; scale $\frac{1}{16}$. No. 6, bronze support ; scale $\frac{1}{16}$. No. 7, bronze basin on tripod ; scale $\frac{2}{3}$. No. 8, bronze skyphos ; scale $\frac{1}{5}$. No. 9, fluted bronze bowl ; scale $\frac{1}{4}$. These are nos. 43, 40, 41, 42, 49 in the inventory of the Barberini tomb.

No. 10. Silver situla from the Castellani tomb ; scale $\frac{1}{4}$. Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. xli. pp. 203, 204.



1



2



3



4



5



7

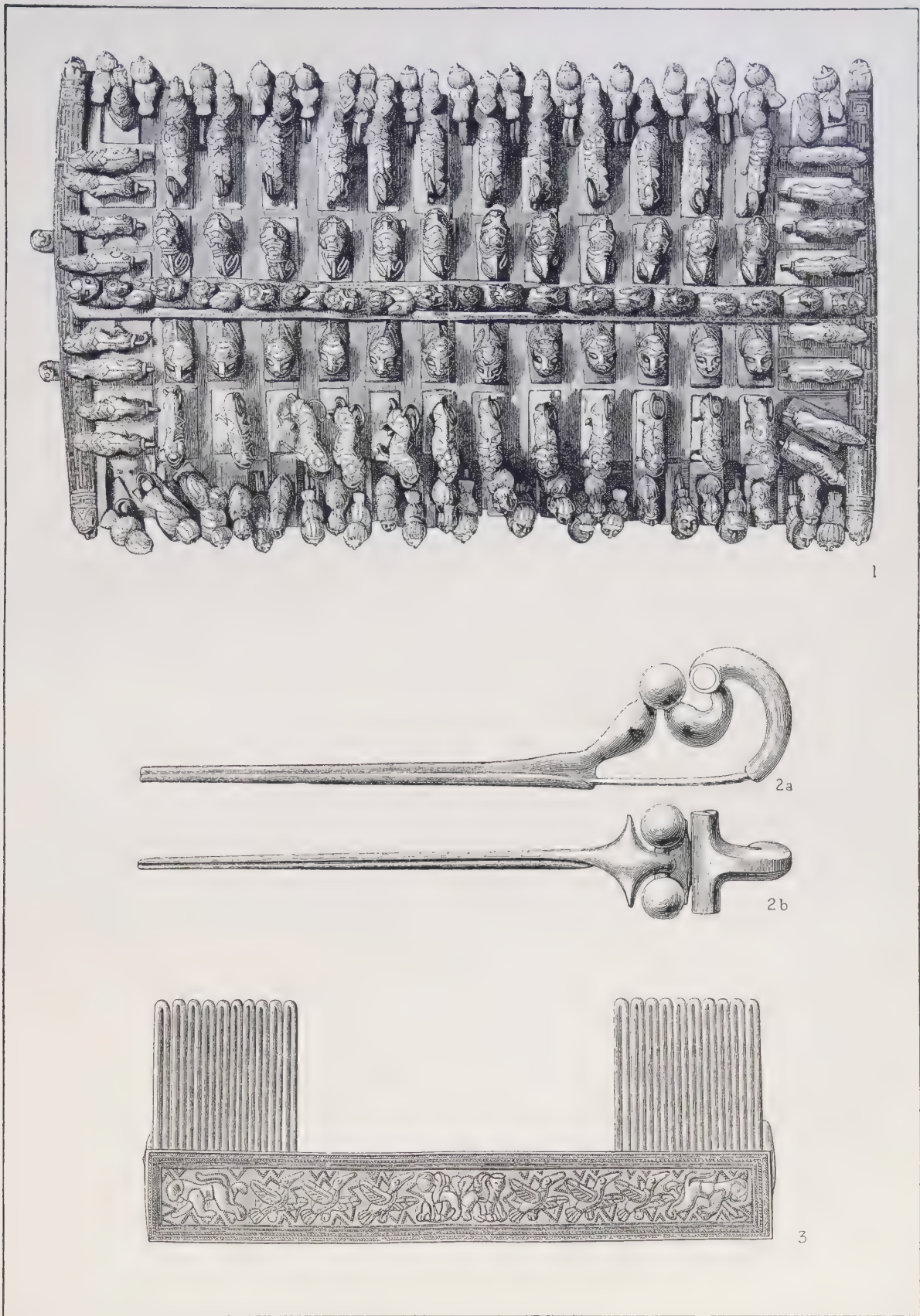


6



8

PRAENESTE. Ivory Carvings from Bernardini and Barberini Tombs



PRAENESTE. Gold Ornaments from the Bernardini Tomb



PRAENESTE. Objects from Bernardini, Barberini and Castellani Tombs

The Barberini Tomb at Praeneste

The tomb which we shall call for convenience the *Barberini tomb*, was discovered in 1855, on that part of the ancient necropolis of Praeneste which is called 'Colombella'. Its contents passed into the Barberini Collection, and were acquired by the State with the rest of the collection in 1908. There are of course no scientific or trustworthy records of the excavation, but there are contemporary notes on the contents of the tomb by three independent persons, which afford a safe basis for the construction of an exact inventory.¹ In this instance, fortunately, there has been no opportunity for confusion; the Barberini collection never possessed more than the one tomb of this character, and its contents are quite uncontaminated. As soon as the Barberini collection was installed in its new home in the Museo di Villa Giulia an article upon it was published by the director, A. della Seta, which gave an inventory of all the objects in this important tomb, with a detailed description of several especially interesting pieces.² The information contained in the article has since been incorporated in a general catalogue of the museum written by the same author, which contains not only a description of every object, but a complete bibliography of all references.³ No sufficiently illustrated record, however, has yet been published, and even Montelius has done no more than reproduce one or two figures from Garrucci's contribution to vol. xli of *Archaeologia*.⁴ Now that the specimens are exhibited in two cases by themselves it is easy to study them with the aid of the Museum catalogue, and to make comparisons with the Bernardini tomb, to which this forms the most admirable complement. A complete inventory will be found in the appendix to this volume (App. B); in the present chapter we shall discuss only those objects which are most interesting and important for dating and comparison.

The *gilded silver plate* numbered 1 in our inventory is the principal link which proves the synchronism of this tomb with the two others just described. It is of precisely the same style and character as the specimens from the Regolini-Galassi and the Bernardini series. In the central medallion is the familiar

¹ Grifi in *Giornale di Roma*, 14 September 1855, p. 865. Braun in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1855, p. 45. Garrucci in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1855, vi, p. 607, and twelve years later in *Archaeologia*, vol. xli.

² *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1909, pp. 161-90.

³ *Museo di Villa Giulia*, by A. Della Seta, Roma, Danesi, 1918. A similar bibliography for the Bernardini tomb can be found in Helbig's popular *Guide to the Collections in Rome*; not all

the references are valuable, but it is certainly well to have them on record.

⁴ It is hoped that a complete photographic record like that of the Bernardini tomb will shortly be published by the American Academy at Rome. In *Archeologia*, vol. xli (1867), p. 200, is the important contribution by Garrucci, describing all the principal objects, which remained the sole authority up to 1909.

scene of a man with a sword in combat with a lion. Round this are two zones representing a lion hunt of the same kind that has been described before. In one zone the lion has felled a man ; archers on horseback shoot back at the beast as they ride away, while other men on horse and foot hurry to the attack. In the outer zone next to this a hunter in a chariot transfixes the lion with his spear, and cavalry and men on foot follow their chief.

Ivory carvings. Nos. 2-25 of the inventory are carvings in ivory, upon which we have already made some remarks. The most famous and perhaps the most important piece is No. 5 (see Plate 40, no. 6), which is part of a group from the top of a casket. It is completed by No. 6, a fragment which shows that the original group must have consisted of several figures. Apparently the lion was shown with two prostrate human bodies under his fore-paws, while over his back was slung the inert and lifeless corpse of which he holds one leg in the corner of his mouth.¹

Lions and bulls in combat are shown in several zones of No. 9, and lions occur again in the pictorial scenes of Nos. 8 and 10. Crouching lions are used as a series by themselves in Nos. 18 and 19, where they probably formed part of the decoration of a box or perhaps the handle of a situla.

Many of the other pieces are fragments from ornaments of which the original form has been lost. The ivory masks, No. 16, representing bearded men, and those in No. 17 with the heads of women, the panthers in No. 20, and the horses' heads in No. 21, must all have been affixed to some larger objects, and almost all still have the ivory pegs by which they were originally fastened.

Several remarkable specimens, however, have survived almost intact. Among these should be mentioned the cups on high pedestals, Nos. 2 and 3 (see Plate 40, no. 7), carved with figures in relief. On No. 2 the figures are goats, rams, sphinxes, and winged lions ; on No. 3 they are galloping horsemen. To the pedestal of each of these cups were originally attached the full-length female figures entered in the inventory as No. 4 ; judging from the blank spaces on the pedestals there would have been four figures to each cup.

A unique form of ritual object is seen in No. 8, illustrated in our Plate 40, no. 8. It is the model of a human fore-arm carved with eight bands of motives in relief. Four of these bands repeat an identical floral design, on the other four are shown figures of lions and bulls. There must have been originally

¹ The two lions biting one another which are illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 365, no. 7, come not from the Barberini tomb but from another discovered in 1861, of which the most valuable contents passed into the Castellani

collection. See *Archaeologia*, vol. xli. The contents of this tomb, from which came also the situla shown in our Plate 42, no. 10, are in the Museo Capitolino at Rome. See Pinza in *Mon. Ant.* vol. xv, cols. 563-6, and see *Ann. Inst.*, 1866.

six of these ivory arms, three of which are still practically intact, though the other three are in fragments. They are all of the same character, but the details of the carvings are different. Whether these were wands for use in the dance, or what purpose they served is unknown.

Another curious and interesting object is the hollow horn numbered 24 in the inventory. This may really have been a musical instrument, as its shape suggests. Where the mouthpiece would naturally have been placed there are traces of bronze, so that it is not impossible that this is a ceremonial form of a ritual instrument, like that trumpet which the Romans, according to tradition, derived from Vetulonia. The body of the horn is inlaid with plaques of amber in the same style of decoration that will be noticed in the next chapter (p. 242) as occurring on the bone sheathing of an axe found in a tomb at Chiusi.

Goldsmiths' work. This shows little that is new either in form or style. No. 26 is a gold clasp very similar in character to No. 1 in the Bernardini tomb, but less elaborate. On to the flat base were soldered three parallel tubes ornamented with granulated designs and carrying rows of animals. In each of the spaces between these tubes and along the flat margins outside them was another row of animals, making seven rows in all. Sphinxes, chimeras, and lions are the zoological varieties; but the carved heads which terminate each of the three cylinders and those which turn back from each of the flat corners of the plaque seem to belong to some other feline type, perhaps the panther.

As panthers also we should describe the three heads on long arched necks which appear at the end of the most tasteful and delicate ornament in the whole series, viz. No. 28, which is one side of a small gold clasp, of which the other half was not found. It is an oblong, hollow cap decorated with very fine filigree, on which are set three birds with human heads modelled in the round, with details in granulation.

No. 27 is a clasp of a rare type which was found also in the Bernardini tomb (p. 218), illustrated in Fig. 67. It is constituted of two halves fitting together with hooks and rings. Each half is composed of two gold plates bearing twelve figures of sphinxes, twenty-four in all. The gold plates are carried upon three curving tubes which originally terminated in flower-buds, now broken. No. 29 is a gold cylinder, backed with bronze and ornamented in granulation, which must have been the backbone of one of the comb-shaped clasps referred to in the preceding tombs; and No. 30, of gold-plated silver, is obviously the other part of the same clasp. It carries on each margin a row



FIG. 67. Gold clasp from the Barberini tomb. There should be 6 sphinxes in each row, i.e. 24. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$.

of little birds executed in the round, with granulated details. Two small gold fibulae, No. 31, are of precisely the same type as those illustrated above in Fig. 49, from the tomb of the 'Three Boats' at Vetulonia. More original is No. 32, a serpentine gold fibula surmounted by lotus-buds and four small birds (Montelius, Plate 364, no. 3). No. 33 is a long silver hairpin with a gold head in the form of a petalled flower-bud, and under No. 34 are listed two small gold pins like our scarf-pins, with heads formed of five or six little loops in a flower-like globe.

There were several silver vessels; No. 35 is the handle of a silver-covered bucket, which probably resembled the situla of the Castellani collection found in another tomb at Praeneste in 1861. The latter specimen was mentioned and illustrated by Garrucci in *Archaeologia*, xli, and is shown in our Plate 42, no. 10.¹

The gilded silver oinochoe and the skyphoi, Nos. 36-8 are very familiar types, but it should be observed that the little cups, of which only fragments remain, were ornamented with engraved designs of birds and animals.

Bronze vessels. Next to the ivory carvings the bronze vessels form the most individual and characteristic contribution of the Barberini tomb. The great bronze cauldron, No. 39, is in no way different from the others which have been mentioned on previous pages, but its support, No. 40, is a remarkable and important piece (Plate 42, no. 6). In shape and style this closely resembles No. 81 in the Bernardini tomb, which is otherwise unique. It is made of hammered sheets joined and rounded into the form of a large funnel, surmounted by a flower-calyx rather than a capital. This calyx, if it may be so called, is surrounded by two rows of sepals instead of the uraeus-heads in the Bernardini example, below which a rounded moulding separates it from the main piece. The funnel-shaped body itself is ornamented with a fine group in repoussé, twice repeated, which represents a pair of human-headed winged lions wearing mitre head-dresses with a tall, stylized palmetto between them. Above the groups is a festoon of round and oval hanging buds. Curtis rather depreciates this piece in comparing it with the Bernardini specimen, but it is a fine example of bronze work, though not perhaps a masterpiece. Stylistically it must be a copy or derivation from the other, as the architectural meaning of the capital has been wholly lost and transformed.

Much handsomer and technically more interesting is the bronze basin, No. 41 (Plate 42, no. 7), with a scheme of ornamentation carried out in extraordinarily high relief. It is to be compared with Nos. 64 and 65 of the

¹ Cf. Pinza in *Mon. Ant.*, vol. xv, fig. 165, and the large drawing in *Mon. Inst.*, viii, Plate 26. The principal objects in the Castellani tomb of 1861 are

described in *Archaeologia*, vol. xli, pp. 203, 204 and *Ann. Inst.* 1866, p. 186. Cf. Pinza op. cit., col. 563.

Bernardini tomb, and this time we may certainly judge that the superiority of workmanship rests with the Barberini piece. The figures which occupy the upper two-thirds of the bowl consist of six identical 'sirens', that is to say, creatures with outspread wings and female heads, seen full-face. Below them are six bulls' heads, each separated from its neighbour by a palmetto. The style is certainly archaic and somewhat stiff, but the figures have great beauty, and the bowl should be considered as an important landmark in the art history of this period.¹ Inside there is a smooth lining as in the Bernardini examples. No. 42, illustrated in Plate 42, no. 8, is a large bronze skyphos ornamented with two rows of figures in relief. The interior is lined with a smooth casing of metal. The upper row of figures consists of a bull, horseman, stag, centaur, sphinx, and chimera. In the second row are ostriches, a panther, bull, fawn, and griffin.²

No. 43, shown in Plate 42, no. 5, is a throne, restored somewhat conjecturally but with a great deal of probability, to fit the well-preserved bronze plates which formed its sheathing. The restoration presumes a solid drum-shaped stand with a fan-shaped back like the Chiusi throne from Dolciano, described in the next chapter (cf. Montelius, Plate 217, no. 1). The drum and the back are alike decorated with bands in relief consisting of figures of men and animals rather poorly executed in repoussé. No. 44 is a tripod of bronze and iron, of which only fragments survive. The bronze feet are cloven like the feet of goats, and from them rise the iron rods which formed the support. Three small human figures, and one of a dog, seem to belong to this piece, and were probably affixed to the outside of the bowl, peering over it, as in the Bernardini example, No. 72.

Under 45 is listed a pair of bronze girdles, for which the other contemporary tombs afford no parallel. They differ from the usual girdles of the Vetulonian and earlier periods in being composed of three pieces instead of one. The central plaque is elliptical, the side plaques trapezoidal in shape, and the three are joined together by hinges. All three plaques are quite elaborately engraved, the central piece with two winged lions separated by a palmetto, the side pieces with a winged and bearded sphinx. Under No. 46 are included the numerous fragments of several round shields, perhaps four in all, of which it is impossible to reconstitute the patterns, though it can be seen that they include figures of men, horses, lions, and other animals.

The fragments listed under 47 prove that there was a chariot made of

¹ The restoration of the plain tripod legs is recent, but Della Seta considers it unquestionably correct.

² No. 42 is illustrated with an extended drawing in *Archaeologia*, xli.

bronze and iron, but contain no details of interest. The basins, bowls, jugs, and cups of bronze, Nos. 48-52, are all familiar, and deserve no special comment. But the last specimen of all, No. 53, is interesting and important, for it is the lid of a censer of that characteristic type which we remarked (pp. 114, 135) in the Tomba del Duce and the second circle-tomb of Le Pelliccie at Vetulonia (Plates 21, 24). In the centre of the lid is an open lotus-flower surmounted by a vertical perforated disc to which is attached the jointed handle composed of several distinct rods united in a band.

Chronology of the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini Tombs

That the three tombs described in this chapter are precisely contemporary with one another is demonstrated by the very close similarity of all their contents, and in particular by the decorated silver bowls. The absolute dating of them, however, has been the subject of much discussion, and very various opinions have been expressed. But it may be said that the extreme views of Helbig on the one side and of Montelius on the other are not generally accepted, and that the majority of archaeologists now place the 'Regolini-Galassi group', as it may be termed, in the seventh century B. C. The idea that it could belong to the sixth is quite untenable, for sixth-century graves would certainly have contained some of the unmistakable black-figured vases from Greece. Actually no figured vases were found in any of the three, and in only one of them is it possible that there were one or two sherds of even the true Corinthian. It would certainly be very satisfactory if we could accept Pinza's discovery of Corinthian fragments made when he re-opened the Regolini-Galassi tomb in 1906; for this would enable us to fix the date almost exactly at 650 B. C., as it would obviously be the first moment when Corinthian began to appear in Italy. But the discovery cannot be accepted with any confidence for it is exceedingly possible that the sherds may have found their way into the rubbish from the later tombs known to exist close by. And if these are ruled out of the discussion, then it must be said that on all the rest of the evidence the Regolini-Galassi group is earlier than 650 B. C., the only question being just *how much* earlier.

The only quite convincing argument would be one that was ultimately based on the evidence of an inscription. Now there are two Palaeo-Etruscan tombs from which objects have been obtained inscribed with the names of Egyptian kings. The first of these has already been mentioned. It is the Bocchoris

tomb of Corneto, in which there was a faience vase inscribed with the name of a king who reigned only six years, viz. 734 to 728 B. C. This then can be trusted to give a date which must be accurate to within plus and minus twenty years. The lowest year that can be reasonably assigned to it is 690, the highest is 730, so that a compromise at 710 B. C. must be almost exact. But the other tomb, which is the 'Grotto of Isis' or 'Polledrara tomb' from Vulci in the British Museum,¹ cannot be so precisely delimited. The inscribed object in it is a scarab, bearing the name of Psammitichus I, whose reign lasted over fifty years, 663 to 609 B. C., so that it is of little value except for proving that the Polledrara tomb is at any rate later than 650 B. C. For any more exact dating we are again thrown back on the pottery; but fortunately in this case the pottery is very highly differentiated. It is later than proto-Corinthian but earlier than black-figured vases, and even appreciably earlier than the François vase itself.² On this evidence, therefore, the Polledrara tomb may be assigned to about 600 B. C., and the problem to be considered is as follows: To which of these two tombs, the Bocchoris and the Polledrara, which are about a century apart in date, is the Regolini-Galassi most closely related?

It will no doubt be conceded at once that the Regolini-Galassi group has all the appearance of being distinctly earlier than the Polledrara tomb, which contains objects wholly unknown before the end of the seventh century, such as carved ostrich eggs, alabaster figures, and faience pilgrim-bottles. Granting that these products existed in Egypt and *might* have been imported if required at any time in the seventh century, still so far as is known they never *were* imported before the time of Psammitichus, and there may be some reason for this in the history of Naucratis. And again the style of all the bronze work in the Polledrara tomb has the finesse and delicacy of a distinctly later stage than the bronze work of the Regolini-Galassi group. But it is the pottery which clinches the argument. It is at least a generation later than anything in the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini tombs, for it is not even Corinthian, it is definitely *post*-Corinthian, whereas the Regolini-Galassi pottery cannot be later than very early Corinthian, even if Pinza's argument be accepted. So that in spite of all the essays of earlier writers who have grouped together the Regolini-Galassi, Polledrara, and Tomba del Duce tombs, they must be clearly separated from one another and spaced over fully a century. The Regolini-Galassi group is evidently at least forty years earlier than the Polledrara tomb.

¹ The contents of the Polledrara tomb are illustrated in Montelius, Plates 265-8.

² For discussions of Polledrara ware see Cecil

Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiv (1894), pp. 206-23 and cf. vol. x. pp. 243-52.

Is it perhaps a great deal *more* than forty years earlier? To answer this question we must consider the other end of the scale, viz. the Bocchoris tomb and the Vetulonian circles. The Vetulonian tombs cannot possibly be brought down to 650 B. C. In all their long series no slightest hint of Corinthian pottery appears in any tomb. And yet there are distinct traits of connexion between the Vetulonian tombs and the Regolini-Galassi. Several of these have already been pointed out (pp. 203, 204), and I have been careful to emphasize that the connexion is not merely with the Tomba del Duce but quite as much with 'Le Pellicie' and the 'Circle of the Cauldrons'. Of these the 'Tomba del Duce' is probably quite early and the others distinctly later in the stages of the Vetulonian series. Probably the better and closer comparison is actually with the later; and judging on stylistic grounds alone it would seem reasonable to say that the Regolini-Galassi group comes a generation or two after anything that we have described at Vetulonia.

The final comparison to be made is that with the Bocchoris tomb, and here there is one piece of evidence which though small is distinctly telling. In the Bocchoris tomb there are two pieces of repoussé gold work (Plate 31, nos. 1 and 2), which show the closest possible resemblance to the detail of gold work in the Regolini-Galassi tomb itself (Plate 36, no. 1). This would seem to justify us in assigning the Regolini-Galassi tomb, and with it necessarily the Bernardini and Barberini tombs, to a date nearer to 700 than 650 B. C.

An arrangement then which placed the Polledrara tomb at 600 B. C., the Regolini-Galassi group at about 670 B. C., the Bocchoris tomb at 700 B. C., and the Vetulonian tombs before 700 B. C., would harmonize all the evidence, and it is this which I propose for adoption.

VIII

CHIUSI AND NORTHERN ETRURIA DOWN TO 650 B.C.

UP to this point I have treated only of Southern Etruria or of cities like Vetulonia which were situated on the sea-coast. That our knowledge of these is so much fuller and more complete than our knowledge of the northern inland regions is probably due rather to the accidents and opportunities of discovery than to any more fundamental cause. There may, indeed, be reason to suspect that a site like Orvieto, which has been thoroughly exploited without yielding antiquities contemporary with those of Vetulonia, was not inhabited at all by the Etruscans of the earliest period, but Chiusi at least is undoubtedly as ancient as the majority of those settlements which we have considered to be characteristic of the eighth and early seventh centuries. It is, therefore, a significant and important fact that its civilization, although it shows many points of contact and similarity with the civilization of the coast and of the southern interior, has a strongly individual and peculiar character. The traditional capital of Porsenna actually differs in its customs and culture from Tarquinii more than the semi-Latin communities of Falerii and Narce. It is only with the increase of commerce and intercourse in the middle of the seventh century that a certain degree of uniformity begins to standardize the inland north as well as the south. Down to a period which is equivalent to that of the Regolini-Galassi and Bernardini tombs there is more diversity than resemblance between the two regions. How far this may be due merely to distance from the sea-coast and the vivifying influence of foreign trade, or how far it may be the expression of fundamental differences of character is a question difficult to determine. When Populonia has been completely explored and the gaps between its Villanovan and middle Etruscan culture filled by such careful and systematic research as is now actually in progress, it will be possible to treat this problem more intelligibly.

Chiusi is a place which has suffered almost more than any other in Etruria from the ruthless sacking and dispersion of its treasures in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The causes of this were in a great measure beyond the control of the Government, and the harm has been caused principally by the ignorance and cupidity of the local inhabitants, abetted by dealers and agents for collections inside and outside of Italy. There is hardly a European museum of any importance which does not possess show-specimens from Chiusi, and in Italy itself there are two or three fine collections formed with a reckless

disregard of all scientific standards. Thousands of graves must have been looted in the last seventy years without any record whatsoever being made. The material, therefore, which is available for systematic and methodical study is very slight in comparison with what might have been expected, and, though it seems to justify the broad generalizations which I have made, it must always be remembered that it leaves many contingencies still open to question and debate. That it is possible to study Chiusan antiquities at all in any connected form is due principally to the devotion and ability of Milani, the late director of the museum at Florence, who in the years of his administration formed the invaluable 'Museo topografico di Etruria' and illustrated its contents in his various writings.¹ This collection at Florence, supplemented by occasional accounts in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and in the publications of the *Istituto Archeologico* from 1875 onwards, is the only reliable source of information. Fine collections of individual specimens exist at Chiusi itself, and, most inappropriately, in the museum at Palermo;² but as there is no record of the tombs and the combinations in which the objects occurred, they are of little use except for the illustration of gift books and general histories. It is most earnestly to be hoped that Milani's admirable work may be continued, for even at this late stage there must be enough surviving in the still unexplored sections of the very extensive Chiusan cemeteries to make it possible to unravel the whole sequence of their history.

The most striking peculiarity of Chiusi in its early periods is the prevalence, I am tempted to say the exclusive use,³ of cremation. The Villanovan burials which have been found at the places called Poggio Renzo and Sarteano are succeeded by a series of other cemeteries, scattered apparently over a considerable area, in which the only rite is cremation, although the period and the civilization are demonstrably Palaeo-Etruscan. That the Etruscans on all the other sites which have been examined in southern and coastal Etruria used cremation as well as inhumation, I have carefully pointed out on each occasion. But everywhere, except at Chiusi, the cremations were in a small minority; here no inhumations at all are reported until the comparatively advanced period marked by the Pania tomb, and even then the two rites are used together in the same interment.

¹ For present purposes see especially his catalogue, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, by L. A. Milani, Firenze, 1912.

² Illustrated in Inghirami, *Etrusco museo chiusino*, Fiesole, 1832. It is greatly to be wished that the collection at Palermo could be transferred to Florence, where it would receive the attention of all students. It contains material which is very

important for the study of the development of early Etruscan sculpture.

³ I cannot agree, however, considering our inevitable ignorance of the burial rite in thousands of unreported cases, to making so unreserved a statement on the point as Montelius, *Civ. Prim.*, col. 947.

Masks and Canopics in the Tombs of Chiusi

The practice of incineration developed a new and unexpected form of art which is without parallel elsewhere in Etruria, and which despite the differences of time and place, inevitably reminds us of Egypt and of Mycenaean Greece. Just as in the shaft-graves of Mycenae masks were placed on the faces of the dead, so here at Chiusi bronze or pottery imitations of the face were attached to the cinerary urn. But this parallel is very dangerous and must not be pressed. Precisely because the burial rites in Northern Etruria were the exact opposite of the burial rites in Egypt and Mycenae, there can be no suggestion that the idea of image-making passed from the latter countries to the former. It must rather be viewed as a natural and spontaneous development amongst a people whose whole religious atmosphere at this time was still uncontaminated by foreign influences. From the mask the Northern Etruscans passed to the moulding of the whole head, and this is the genesis of an extraordinary series of cinerary urns inappropriately nicknamed 'Canopics', from a mistaken idea that they resembled those vases in which the Egyptians enshrouded the viscera of their embalmed dead. The process of image-making, moreover, did not stop at the fashioning of heads, for the arms and the upper part of the body were often indicated, though the lower part of the urn was never shaped into human form. It is easy to see that this custom was inevitably laying the foundation of a school of sculpture, and that after a few generations there would appear complete statues formed for the reception of the ashes. Several such statues are extant which date from the fifth century, but as yet no early examples are known; from them in turn it is a natural transition to the stone or pottery sarcophagi surmounted by recumbent figures which are so familiar in all the later Etruscan periods.

A complete and representative series of masks and 'Canopics' showing all the stages of their evolution is given by Montelius, who is principally following Milani,¹ in his Plates 220-3. I have reproduced a few of the most interesting and characteristic specimens from his illustrations in my own Plate 43, and will now proceed to describe them, giving such details as are known of their history and provenance.

No. 1 is a bronze mask in the museum at Florence, surmounted by a bronze bowl which was found with it and probably formed the lid of the ossuary to which the mask was attached. The ossuary itself has not survived, but Milani

¹ Milani on *Monumenti etruschi d'uso cinerario* edited by Comparetti, Florence, 1884-90. in vol. i, of *Museo Italiano di antichità classica*,

suggests that it may have been a bronze vase of the form illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 221, fig. 5, which occurred in a tomb that will be described later.¹

Three other objects which may be of value for dating the mask were found with it and are now in the Museum at Florence, viz. an unornamented bronze tripod, a stand of red pottery, and a remarkable vase of red pottery ornamented with four griffin-heads moulded in the round (see Montelius, Plate 221, figs. 2-4). The tomb from which these came was of the form usual at Chiusi from the very beginning of the Palaeo-Etruscan period, that is to say, a round hole in which there was inserted an enormous jar, about 0.75 metre in height and 0.55 metre in circumference. Within this jar were placed the ossuary and all the objects of tomb-furniture, except small pottery which was often laid on the stone slab covering the jar. A series of tombs of this kind will be described in the detailed account of Cetona (see below, pp. 236-239). For the present it is sufficient to recall that they are by no means confined to Etruria, but occur in Latium and other parts of Italy. The type is not remarkable, for a large pot is a simple and easy method of interment which has been used in various countries at different periods.

The mask No. 1 in Plate 43 is made of a thin sheet of bronze with the features delineated in repoussé, the eyebrows and beard being further accentuated by lightly engraved lines. It was probably attached to its bronze ossuary by nails driven through the nine holes visible round the margin. Another specimen of very similar style and technique is in the museum of Chiusi, and both may be compared with two other rather different types, of which one is in the Chiusi Museum and the other in a private collection (Montelius, Plate 222, figs. 1-3). Milani wished to assign these several examples to slightly different periods, grading them according to stylistic development; but in the absence of any evidence as to the other objects found in the graves it would be safer to draw no such positive conclusions. And the same reserve may be shown towards Milani's classification of the pottery 'Canopics', which cannot really be safely graded on any evidence less than that of a large number of tomb-groups.

No. 2 in Plate 43 is a pottery 'Canopic' with a pottery head made in an almost black bucchero; the arms are clearly delineated, but no other portions of the body are indicated. The peculiar interest of this specimen is that it was found with spiral ear-rings of bronze actually hanging in the ears, a proof of the use of these spirals which are often found loose in other tombs of the period. It is not known what objects accompanied this specimen,² which is exhibited in the museum at Florence.

¹ Viz. the tomb mentioned by Gamurrini in *Not. Sc.*, 1881, fasc. Gennaio (see p. 242).

² For a description see *Not. Sc.*, 1884, fasc. Ottobre, 'Castiglione del Lago.'

No. 3 in Plate 43 is also in the museum at Florence, but as it was found by clandestine diggers there are no details available in regard to the tomb. The ossuary and head are of pottery. Instead of arms this figure has two griffin-heads on long necks.

No. 4 in Plate 43 comes from one of a pair of tombs found close together, half a mile from the present town of Chiusi. The full contents of each are known and may be seen in the museum at Florence. The first tomb was evidently that of a woman, as she is wearing real bronze ear-rings in her ears and a real bronze headpin with wheel-shaped top in her hair behind. The head and the two-handled ossuary itself are both of pottery. A pottery seat, the greater part of which appears in our illustration, supported the ossuary and rested on the top of the ashes within the great sepulchral jar. The only accompanying objects were a small bow-shaped fibula of bronze, part of a small iron implement, and two small bucchero cups (Montelius, Plate 221, figs. 15-19).

Only 3 metres away from this was another jar-burial of identical character, but in this case the pottery 'Canopic' was that of a man, with the usual short beard but no moustache. The 'Canopic' rested directly upon the ashes, unsupported by any seat. With it were a plain bronze belt-clasp, a bronze bow-fibula, and bronze spit, a pair of iron tweezers, three small bucchero cups, and a larger oval jar of bucchero with two handles and a lid like the lid of a teapot (Montelius, Plate 221, figs. 6-14).

No. 5 in Plate 43 is a sporadic specimen in the museum at Chiusi, concerning the history of which there are no details.

No. 6 of Plate 43 is in the Florence Museum, and is briefly mentioned in the Catalogue as coming from the Burghignon collection in Naples. It differs from the preceding specimens, which were all of bucchero, in being made entirely of bronze, both ossuary and head. The ossuary is of a form closely resembling the spherical bronze vases on a high foot which were found at Vetulonia, e.g., in the Tomba del Duce (Plate 21), and like them it has decorative side-handles. In this case the side-handles represent griffins, which may possibly have some symbolical association with death. The head is fully rounded, with rather rudimentary features, and is surmounted by a four-pointed object, of which the ends also terminate in griffin's jaws surrounding a vertical pistil. A chair or stool of wood sheathed in bronze, with bronze bands crossing to form the seat supported the ossuary. Nothing is known of the circumstances under which this specimen was found or of its original provenance. It is not figured by Montelius.

No. 7 in Plate 43 is a very fine example from the site of Solaia, near Sarteano,

in which the ossuary and head are both of pottery. The seat on which it was placed is also of pottery, decorated with a star and lines of bosses in evident imitation of bronze repoussé work. On the rim of the ossuary is an incised maeander pattern, above and below which are designs of small concentric circles. It is punched all over with numerous small holes for ventilation. No. 8 in Plate 43 is in the museum at Chiusi, and is stylistically the latest of the whole series. Unfortunately, the only possible judgement must be on stylistic grounds, as nothing is known of the other objects found in the tomb. Both the chair (No. 9) and the ossuary are of bronze but the head is of pottery.¹ The handles of the ossuary are very peculiar; they are almost boat-shaped in form, and are attached to small castings shaped like human feet, by which they are joined to the body of the urn. The urn itself and the seat upon which it rests are, as usual, of hammered work. All the ornamentations upon the seat are done in repoussé.

From these typical examples it can be seen how much variety of detail there is in this early school of Etruscan modelling. And not only do the 'Canopics' afford a most interesting study in the gradual development of an independent plastic art wholly unaffected by foreign influences, but they throw a great deal of light on details of dress and fashion. Hardly any two are precisely alike, and all except the very rudest contribute something to our knowledge.²

The Cemetery of Cancelli on Cetona

It was remarked on p. 232 that the cemeteries of Chiusi are scattered over a wide area, but unfortunately there is no information which will enable us to describe any one of them as a whole. The only series from any single place which can be treated as a group consists of eight graves found on the southern slope of the hill of Cetona at a site called Cancelli. Here there was a piece of ground measuring about 200 by 100 metres entirely filled with 'ziro' ³ graves, which had been surreptitiously plundered, but of which an intelligent dealer brought news to the authorities. Information was given of thirty burials, but of these only eight were complete enough for description; they form the

¹ It might be suspected that there had been confusion, but the fact that the pottery head belongs to the bronze ossuary is positively vouched for by Brogi, whom Milani expressly questioned on the point.

² The fineness of the modelling of the heads can be better appreciated from some of the photographs in Milani's article (*Museo Italiano* . . ., vol. i) than from any drawings. Other examples of

'Canopics' can be studied in Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Plates 28, 35). See also Undset in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1890, p. 109, and Furtwängler's *Catalogue* of the vases in the Berlin collection.

³ 'Ziro' is the name given to the large sepulchral jar which contains the ossuary and all the tomb-furniture. In other parts of Italy it is generally called 'dolio'.

subject of an article by Milani,¹ on which the following remarks are based. The principal objects are illustrated by Montelius in his Plates 219–20.

The huge round jars which are used instead of coffins or sarcophagi on all these Chiusan sites are exemplified by several fine specimens in the Florence Museum, of which one is illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 215, fig. 11. They were made by hand of a coarse clay, and burned in an open fire, so that the surface is red and the central core remains black; the particular example which is illustrated is 0.75 metre in height, with a maximum diameter of 0.77 metre and a diameter at the mouth of 0.55 metre. It has horizontal rope-pattern handles and a large projecting boss on each side midway between the handles, with a string-course in relief running round the top near the brim. Jars of this kind were sunk in the ground in a round hole just large enough to receive them, to a depth of 2 metres or 3 metres. Within the jar were placed the ashes of the pyre, and on these stood the ossuary or 'Canopic', generally resting on a pottery seat, as shown in Plate 43, nos. 4, 7. The ornaments and articles of tomb-furniture were placed partly within and partly round the Canopic, except for small pottery cups and bowls, which were often on the top of a stone slab that covered the jar. At a little distance above these small pots there was generally a second slab, which thus enclosed them in a sort of miniature chamber above the 'ziro'. Almost all the tombs at Cetona, so far as is known, contained human-headed ossuaries or 'Canopics', but the same type of jar-burial is found on other Chiusan sites without these anthropomorphic urns, as will appear in the description of the important finds at Poggio alla Sala, Dolciano, and Pania. The inventory of the eight tombs of Cetona is as follows:

Tomb 1. Ossuary of pottery, broken. A small bronze basin, 0.07 metre high by 0.16 metre in diameter, studded with bosses, broken; a bronze fibula threaded with a lump of coloured glass; another bronze fibula of unusual type in which the catch-plate is turned back at the bottom and ends in a round button; a bronze fibula threaded with amber; two small bow-fibulae of bronze; an iron boat-shaped fibula; the head of a bronze hairpin of the common four-rayed wheel type; three silver spirals for hair or ears; similar spirals of bronze; two fluted cylinders of glass, one green, the other yellow; a small bronze chain; one small hand-made bucchero cup (Montelius, Plate 219, figs. 1–6).

Tomb 2. Ossuary of blackish clay, undecorated and without any portrait-head (Montelius, Plate 219, fig. 7). A pair of bronze fibulae of the bow type, in which the body is formed of a piece of bone or ivory carved in the form of

¹ *Mon. Ant.*, vol. ix, cols. 149–92, *Sepolcreto con vasi antropoidi di Cancelli sulla montagna di Cetona*.

a horse and rider ; a pair of boat-shaped bronze fibulae engraved with zigzag lines ; a pair of boat-shaped bronze fibulae with a flat disc in the middle of each side—evidently the simple form out of which such fibulae as Fig. 41 were developed ; a silver finger-ring rudely engraved with a simple design of uncertain form ; a similar ring of bronze engraved with a design like an anchor ; a bronze pendant shaped like a pair of acorns ; a bronze pendant remotely suggesting a Bes figure ; two flower-shaped bronze buttons ; an iron rod threaded with alternate discs of amber and of bone ; a pair of broken boat-fibulae of iron ; a round-headed iron nail (Montelius, Plate 219, figs. 7-15).

Tomb 3. Ossuary a plain oval jar surmounted by portrait-head (Montelius, Plate 222, fig. 5). No accompanying objects except pottery, which, however, forms an interesting and characteristic group, illustrated by Milani (*Mon. Ant.*, ix, col. 159) with a photograph, but not illustrated by Montelius. The most characteristic piece is a 'pre-Corinthian' cup with concentric lines in brownish paint. Next to this in importance is a bucchero skyphos, the handles of which are moulded in the form of bulls' heads (cf. Tomb 5), while on the shoulder are engraved lines and fan-shaped rays. There are seven bucchero cups of the common long-stemmed type, and two small red pots, one of which has ribbon-handles and a body decorated with a rough floral motive.

Tomb 4. Pottery ossuary like the last, furnished with a portrait-head and supported on a pottery seat (Montelius, Plate 223, no. 13). The objects, illustrated by Milani but not by Montelius, were a broken boat-shaped fibula of iron ; hair-spirals of iron ; an iron object like a key ; seven small vases, of which four are black bucchero decorated with engraved lines and simple geometrical patterns, while three are red.

Tomb 5. Rudely anthropomorphic pottery ossuary with portrait-head, supported on a pottery seat. With it an important series of small objects, viz. a pair of iron plaques each decorated *à jour* with a rough human figure and a design formed of alternate bosses of bronze and iron ; together they form a belt-clasp 0.11 metre long by 0.09 metre wide. With these were a pair of plain iron belt-clasps ; nine plain boat-shaped fibulae of iron ; two more iron fibulae of the same shape but with a flat disc on each side (cf. Tomb 2) ; a bow-shaped iron fibula originally threaded with some substance ; part of an iron knife ; an iron dagger. The pottery, all of bucchero except one piece of plain yellow ware, consisted of a skyphos decorated with moulded bulls' heads and a cylinder-rolled pattern of animals, a small ovoid olla with ribbon-handles and a lid, a similar olla without handles, two more without either lid or handles, and four high-stemmed cups (Montelius, Plate 220, figs. 7-12).

Tomb 6. Pottery ossuary with side-handles, surmounted by a portrait-

head and supported by a pottery seat. With it was a high stand of red pottery supporting a spherical pottery bowl on which was a circular bronze lid with a handle; two long cylindrical vases of red-black ware studded with clay bosses near the neck, two 'pre-Corinthian' aryballoi decorated with palmetto motives and rosettes. No metal objects are mentioned (Montelius, Plate 220, figs. 16-17).

Tomb 7. Pottery ossuary, with human arms and portrait-head, supported by a pottery-seat. The vases found with it are important for dating and connexions. First amongst these is a high-stemmed bucchero cup decorated with a cylinder impression almost identical with that which occurs in the Pania tomb (cf. *inf.*, pp. 249, 250, and see Montelius, Plate 224). Next in importance are the pre-Corinthian vases, viz. two unguentaries ornamented with concentric lines. There are three bucchero cups, one of which has a handled lid, decorated with incised lines and chevrons, and another without ornamentation. With these were five boat-shaped fibulae (presumably of bronze, though it is not specified); a plain bronze bracelet with open ends meeting but not overlapping; two iron fusiform pieces, perhaps belonging to a necklace; two drop-shaped pendants of blue glass (Montelius, Plate 219, figs. 16-21).

Tomb 8. Pottery ossuary with stumps for arms and a portrait-head (Montelius, Plate 223, figs. 8-9). No seat was found with this. The objects were two iron spear-heads; a pre-Corinthian lekythos ornamented with simple concentric bands, a one-handled cup of black bucchero like the specimen in Tomb 7 (Montelius, Plate 219, fig. 21), a small bowl of black bucchero with vertical handle, and nine high-stemmed cups of the same ware.

Ziro burials from various sites near Chiusi

Another cemetery which probably resembled that of Cetona is briefly referred to in a few lines of the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1892 (p. 308). It was at Solaia on the hill of Sarteano. Brogi, who reported and described the general character of the ziro tombs when they were first discovered in 1875 (*Bull. Inst.*, 1875, p. 216, and 1876, p. 152), mentions also the existence of a well-defined necropolis of this class measuring about 200 × 200 metres at 'Fonte all' Aja', about a kilometre from the town of Chiusi. In this there had been found up to the year 1882 some twenty-six tombs, most of which, to judge from his expressions, would have contained anthropomorphic ossuaries, but no exact details are known (*Bull. Inst.*, 1882, p. 230). On Poggio Renzo, where there was undoubtedly a large Villanovan cemetery, there must have been also some genuine 'ziro' burials. This would not be at all clear from Brogi's general statements, but is proved by some trial diggings undertaken for the Florence

Museum in 1911. Near the great tumulus of later date which was the principal object of exploration, was found a typical ' ziro ', occupying a cylindrical hole sunk to a depth of 3 metres. Within the jar were a pottery seat and human-headed ' Canopic ' of a ruder and more peculiar technique than any which have been described. The head and body of the ossuary are painted with lines to represent the dress and ornaments, while the seat has a rude representation of a long-necked bird between geometrical designs. The whole contents of the tomb are in the museum at Florence, and were published, with a description, in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1915, pp. 16-23. They consist of two fluted cups of bronze, a hemispherical bronze bowl, two iron dagger-blades, and a dozen pots, of which one is of yellow ware decorated with red lines, while another is a hand-made brown olletta, of which the decorations were made with strips of lead.

To complete the record of tombs of this kind it is necessary to mention two isolated instances in the Florence Museum and one in the museum of Copenhagen. The first of these comes from the site called ' Le Capanne ', and is described by Milani in the article so often referred to (*Mon. Ant.*, ix col. 182); the second, which we shall name the ' Mignone ' tomb, was found on a hill to the east of Chiusi, and is described in the same pages; the third, from a site called Ponte Cucchiajo, is described by Undset in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1890).

In the ' Le Capanne ' grave there was a pottery seat with pottery Canopic and head of a rather simple and formless kind; two ' pre-Corinthian ' lekythoi painted with concentric bands; a cup of black bucchero with two rope-pattern handles and incised lines on the body; five plain bucchero cups; and two fragments of large boat-shaped iron fibulae. These are all illustrated by Montelius in his Plate 220, nos. 1-6.

The contents of the Mignone tomb are illustrated by Milani, but not by Montelius; they consist of a pottery seat with a pottery Canopic, an ovoid bucchero vase with lid like that in the fifth Cetona tomb, a fine pre-Corinthian lekythos, two bronze basins ornamented with studs round the rim, and a small boat-shaped fibula, presumably of bronze.

The Copenhagen tomb¹ appears to have contained two ossuaries, one of pottery on a pottery seat, and the other of bronze to which a bronze mask was attached. With them were two small pottery vases with side handles terminating in griffin-heads, a pair of fire-tongs, and two bronze spits. But more interesting than these is the charming little pottery model of a chariot with a pair of horses, shown in Montelius, Plate 215, fig. 2 and my Plate 44.

¹ Undset in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1890, p. 65 and p. 120.

There can be no doubt that Milani is right in maintaining that the anthropomorphic ossuaries commonly termed 'Canopics' have a very wide range in time. He was informed by experienced diggers at Chiusi that they occurred not only in 'ziro' graves, but also in chamber-tombs, and even in association with Attic painted pottery. No instances of this are recorded in any written accounts, but it is perfectly credible and quite consistent with the very late technique of certain specimens (e.g., Montelius, Plate 222, fig. 7, and Plate 222, fig. 13). On the other hand, there is every reason to consider that they begin quite early. The equipment of most of the graves which we have described is quite characteristic of the Vetulonian period as a whole, and several of the Cetona graves belong to the earlier rather than to the later stages of that period. So that, even apart from stylistic judgements, it would seem correct to state that Canopics occur in their earliest and most rudimentary forms as early as 800 B. C. at Chiusi, and mark the very beginnings of the Etruscan settlement in that region. We have seen that they continue throughout the eighth century, and some of the finest examples—e. g. Plate 43, no. 8—probably belong to the seventh.

To the early seventh century I should attribute the well-known *Tomba del Trono* from Dolciano, now in the Museum at Berlin (Montelius, Plate 217). It contains a bronze ossuary without any portrait-head, but with a fine bronze seat ornamented in repoussé, which very closely resembles in style the bronze seat of Plate 43, nos. 8, 9. In several respects the Tomba del Trono forms a link between the ziro burials and the chamber-tombs of Poggio alla Sala and Pania. The form of the seat and the bronze fibula with side-studs connect it with the Cetona series; the headless bronze ossuary, the bronze table, and the bronze oenochoe, associate it rather with the customs and the art of the chamber-tombs. It was one of a series of twenty ziro burials found near the hill Gajella. Nineteen of these were entirely empty, which is a great loss, as they would have been invaluable for comparison; the twentieth was a square hole measuring 1.10 metres each way, by 2.50 metres deep, covered with a stone slab, below which a second slab protected the sepulchral jar. In addition to the bronze ossuary on its bronze seat, and the small table of hammered bronze, the sepulchral jar or 'ziro' contained two vases of hammered bronze,¹ as well as several large iron spear-heads, fragments of an iron dagger, three bronze fibulae, a bronze head-pin with spiral end, three bronze rings, numerous small bronze studs, and two bone eyes with pupils of amber.²

Another ziro tomb, which has never been satisfactorily described, but of

¹ One figured by Mont., in Plate 217, fig. 3, the other of the type given in Mont., Plate 289, fig. 7.

² All described in *Bull. Inst.*, 1883, p. 193.

which the contents are in the Florence Museum, is that known as the *Tomb of the Via Cassia*. Brogi (*Bull. Inst.*, 1875, p. 216) states that he saw this excavated with his own eyes, and gives a few lines of very summary description. The tomb was of the usual kind protected by a stone slab, below which a second slab covered the sepulchral jar. Between the two slabs were ten small bucchero vases. On the cremated ashes—there is no mention of an ossuary—were two magnificent bronze axes, one of which has a handle of iron covered with cylinders of bone inlaid with amber. With these were various small objects, of which only one is so described as to be recognizable.¹ It is a silver pendant set with a carnelian engraved with a figure which Milani calls a 'harpy'. It is unfortunate that the scanty material makes it difficult to date these very interesting specimens, for this is precisely one of the cases in which stylistic generalizations are dangerous. Milani himself appears to have vacillated considerably in his attempts to date the engraved cameo, and we should prefer to give no opinion beyond pointing out the *a priori* probability that the tomb belongs to the same period as the others which were found on similar sites at the same time, that is to say, some stage in the eighth century (Montelius, Plate 214, figs. 1, 4).

A third of these ziro tombs from scattered sites, which contain no anthropomorphic vases but other very interesting objects of the same period, was only partially reported before its contents were sold out of the country. It contained a bronze ossuary covered with a bronze bowl,² a bronze seat and bronze table, a bronze tripod, and an axe with bronze handle. More interesting than any of these is a large vase of red ware, on the lid of which there was a moulded female figure, surrounded by a group of small upright figures in pottery.³ That is to say, it was one of those very rare pieces of which we illustrate a characteristic example in Plate 44, no. 5. Several of these are known, but in no other case is there any record of the objects with which they were associated. The specimen illustrated in our Plate was found in a ziro tomb near Chiusi, and may be compared with two others which have long been famous.⁴

It is interesting to compare with these specimens modelled in bucchero a unique cinerary urn carved in soft stone, which is in the Florence Museum, and of which the history is unknown. It may be called the *Primoli ossuary* from the name of its donor, but the provenance is unknown, and the date

¹ Though Milani in *Museo italiano*, pp. 306, 307, specifies as belonging to this tomb a bronze serpentine fibula ornamented with round balls (i. e. similar to Mont., Plate 214, fig. 2) and a bronze belt-clasp.

² Restored after the rest of the tomb had been

exported. It is now in the Museum at Florence (Mont., Plate 221, fig. 5).

³ Gamurrini in *Not. Sc.*, 1881, fasc. Gennaio.

⁴ See Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2nd ed., pp. 310-12, and Mont., Plate 228, figs. 3-5.

can only be guessed. On stylistic grounds the Primoli ossuary would be placed quite early, and there can be little doubt that it is at least earlier than the pottery ossuaries of similar design. It is illustrated in Plate 44, no. 6. The body of the ossuary is decorated in very low relief with a band of twenty identical figures in shapeless robes. Above these at four equidistant points are four human masks. These are matched on the lid by four large heads of long-necked geese, between each of which stand three shapeless little birds. In the centre of the lid is an erect female figure, presumably a goddess, clothed in a long robe, the back of which is ornamented with stars. On her arms she wears armlets, and round her neck is a necklace of disc-shaped pieces joined by a scarab in the centre. As an example of early sculpture this shows a considerable advance on the rude carving of the figures in the mausoleum of La Pietrera at Vetulonia, but I should be disposed to attribute it almost exactly to the same period.

Another interesting example of early Chiusan work in the Florence Museum is the stone statue shown as No. 4 in Plate 44, which may be of almost the same date. Earlier in type than either of these is the tufa cinerary urn carved with a human mask, which is shown in Plate 44, no. 2. This is also in the Florence Museum, and is described by Milani in his article on the Canopics and masks ¹ (Montelius, Plate 226, figs. 9, 10).

¹ *Museo italiano*, vol. i, Plate X, and p. 298.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 43, 44

PLATE 43. CHIUSI. *Anthropomorphic burial-urns*. All except no. 6, which is from an original photograph, are taken from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Plates 221-3, after Milani in Comparetti's *Museo italiano di antichità*.

No. 1. Bronze mask, of which the urn has perished ; scale $\frac{1}{7}$.

No. 2. Pottery urn and pottery head ; scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 3. Pottery ; scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

No. 4. Pottery ; scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

No. 5. Pottery.

No. 6. Bronze urn, with bronze head.

No. 7. Pottery ; scale $\frac{1}{5}$.

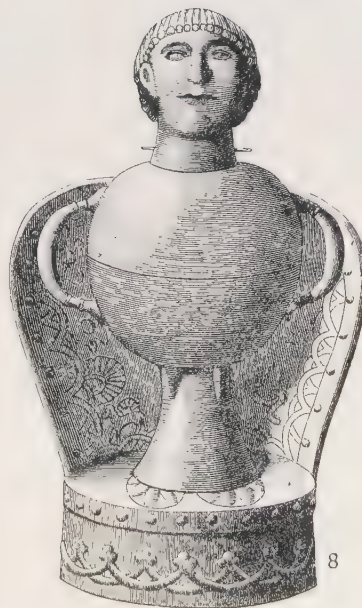
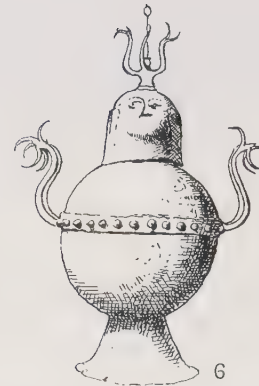
Nos. 8, 9. Two views of a bronze ossuary with a pottery head, placed on a bronze chair ; scale $\frac{1}{11}$.

PLATE 44. CHIUSI. *Carved ivory situla and figures in stone and pottery*. All except no. 6 are from Montelius, op. cit., Plates 215, 226, 228. No. 6 is from a photograph in Milani's catalogue, *Il R. museo archeologico di Firenze*, Plate 84.

No. 1. Ivory situla from the Pania tomb ; scales $\frac{1}{5}$, and approximately $\frac{1}{2}$. After *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, vol. ix.

No. 2. Stone ; scale $\frac{1}{12}$. No. 3, pottery ; scale $\frac{1}{5}$. No. 4, stone.

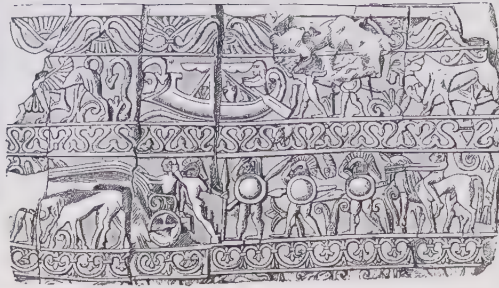
No. 5. Pottery ; scale $\frac{1}{5}$. No. 6, stone.



CHIUSI. Anthropomorphic Burial Urns



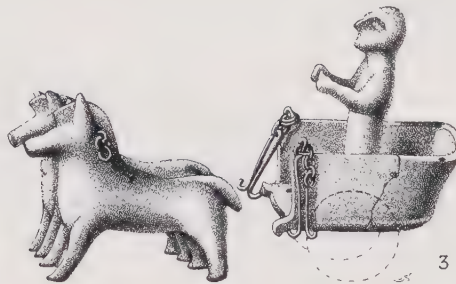
1a



1b



2



3



5



4



6

CHIUSI. Carved Ivory Situla. Figures in Stone and Pottery

From the ziro tombs we may now pass to the two famous chamber-tombs of Chiusi, found respectively at Poggio alla Sala and at Pania. These belong to a period which is rather that of Regolini-Galassi than of Vetulonia. The Pania tomb, indeed, may be classed as definitely Regolini-Galassi, while the other is perhaps a shade earlier and might be dated just after the latest Vetulonian group.

The Tomb found at Poggio alla Sala

Poggio alla Sala is situated about 7 kilometres to the north-west of Chiusi. In 1877 some workmen engaged in levelling the ground came unexpectedly upon a tomb, of which they had destroyed half the structure before they realized its nature. From the small part which remained in a condition to be described, it appears that the tomb consisted of a single chamber, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres in width, and the same or a little more in length, excavated out of the natural rock. A partition of tufa had been left at the farther end so as to divide the chamber into two compartments. Just within the entrance were found a sword and a bronze basin, 0.30 metre in diameter, and on the right wall hung two bronze shields, 0.82 metre in diameter, ornamented with geometrical patterns and zones of animals, but too much damaged to allow of illustration. In the left compartment were a sword and a bronze basin, 0.45 metre in diameter, a bronze patera, 0.28 metre in diameter, ten pottery unguentaries, and three bucchero vases. At the end of the right compartment, standing undamaged in its original position, was a bronze chair, 0.85 metre in height, and 0.35 metre in width, on which there rested a bronze ossuary, 0.54 metre in height and 0.40 metre in diameter. This ossuary, which was wrapped in a linen cloth, of which numerous fragments still remained, and partly covered with gold leaf laid upon the cloth, contained the cremated bones of the owner of the tomb. With the ashes in the ossuary were eight 'amulets', and on the chair by the side of the ossuary were fifteen more 'amulets', two bone dice, and two bone eyes with pupils of some darker material. In front of the chair was a bronze table, 0.98 metre long and 0.35 metre wide. In a cylindrical hole close to the chair were small pots, viz. bucchero cups and unguentaries painted with simple lines, as well as some bronze platters.

The account in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (1877, p. 143), from which the preceding description is taken, is sufficiently complete for all practical purposes, but leaves one or two minor points undetermined. It is not easy to say what is meant by 'amulets', and the description of the pottery is somewhat vague and confused. Helbig's account in the *Bullettino dell' Istituto* (1877, p. 193) adds one or two

details, and there are illustrations in *Annali dell' Istituto* (1876, p. 296), which Montelius reproduces in his Plate 218.

The contents of the tomb as at present exhibited in the museum at Florence are shown in Plate 45. In the upper part of the Plate is the chair, of which the framework is covered with thin sheets of bronze. The two uprights which form its back are ornamented with a chevron design in low relief and joined together by cords of twisted bronze. Similar cords act as struts to join the front legs with the back. The seat is formed of a flat sheet of bronze, and an oblong flap of bronze falls down between the two legs in front and on each side.

The ossuary which stands upon the chair is of the same style and technique as bronze vases at Vetulonia (cf. Plate 24), but very simple, with plain ribbon-handles, which do not occur in the Vetulonian tombs; traces of the cloth, which may have been purple in colour, are still visible upon it. In front of the chair is the bronze table, very simply constructed of a plain sheet of metal, to which are riveted four thin flat bands of iron, which would have been flimsy supports unless backed by wood. In front of the table is a large bronze basin, presumably the one which was found in the left compartment, and behind this is a bronze platter with a boss in the centre and a wire swinging handle (Montelius, Plate 218, fig. 9). On the right of the bronze basin stands the most interesting pottery vase found in the tomb. It is shaped like a samovar, with side-handles topped by a kind of button, and seems properly to have a lid (cf. Montelius, Plate 218, fig. 3), though shown without it in the museum-case. The material is a pale clay, covered with a yellow slip, on which a bold pattern of chevrons and lines is painted in red. Evidently designed in imitation of a bronze original, this may be compared to the vase shown in Montelius, Plate 221, no. 10.

The trefoil-mouthed jug on the other side of the bronze bowl, and the small 'unguentaries' or 'balsamaries' in the front of the picture, are not remarkable, though they are perhaps diagnostic of date. There were ten of these specimens, including two bowls, of which six are lying on the bronze table and four are below it in the picture. They are all wheel-made, of yellow clay, decorated with simple bands and vertical lines in blackish brown or red or violet. Similar specimens were found in the latest group of tombs at Vetulonia, and will be noted below as occurring in the Pania tomb. In the bronze bowl are some fragments of iron, which doubtless represent a sword or dagger and a spear-head, objects which are mentioned by Milani as belonging to the tomb, though not specifically noted in the rather hasty account given in the July number of the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1877.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 45

PLATE 45. CHIUSI. *The Tomb of Poggio alla Sala*. Original photograph of the contents of the case as exhibited in the museum at Florence. In the centre of the picture is shown the bronze ossuary, 0·54 m. high, standing on its bronze chair, 0·85 m. high. In front of this is the bronze table, 0·98 m. long. A bronze basin and bronze plate, together with characteristic pieces of pre-Corinthian pottery are visible in the foreground.



CHIUSI. Tomb of Poggio alla Sala

The Pania Tomb

The Pania tomb was found about three miles south of Chiusi, and has been described by Helbig, who was not actually present at the excavation but saw the tomb just after it had been cleared and then viewed the objects in the private house to which they had been carried (see *Bull. Inst.*, 1874, p. 203, and *Ann. Inst.*, 1877, p. 397; cf. *Mon. Inst.*, vol. x, Plate 38 A). According to his description it was a chamber 2.70 metres long by 3.50 metres wide, approached by a corridor 2.50 metres wide. On either side of the corridor in front of the door of the tomb was a niche. The chamber was built of large quadrangular blocks of travertine and roofed with well-cut blocks of the same stone. Down the centre was a partition wall dividing the chamber into two parts, which communicated with one another at each end. In the right half of the chamber was a stone mortuary couch, between which and the partition wall it seems that the floor was paved with sheets of bronze—a most remarkable detail. No other instance of this practice has been recorded in any official account of which we have knowledge, but Brogi informed Helbig that in an unrecorded tomb near Chiusi he had found the lower part of the wall to be covered with a sort of dado of bronze, 0.25 metre high.

In the right-hand compartment was found a skeleton, thrown off its bed on to the floor, doubtless by robbers, who had broken through the roof and partially plundered the tomb, though leaving a great proportion of the contents untouched. At the foot of the bed against the wall were fragments of blue, green, and yellow glass, the remains, no doubt, of valuable vases which had hung upon the wall. In the same corner was a plain bronze situla, 0.67 metre high (see Montelius, Plate 224, fig. 12), which contained a bronze ossuary not unlike the ossuary of the Poggio alla Sala tomb, but with a long cylindrical neck (Montelius, Plate 224, fig. 11). Within the ossuary were cremated ashes, a fragment of linen, and a quantity of gold leaf, while outside the ossuary but within the situla lay the superb gold fibula shown in Figure 68. With this were a silver hook and ring, perhaps part of a clasp.

Along the side of the wall close to the funeral bed were four iron spear-heads, and on the bronze pavement stood a chair of hammered bronze on which there was a fifth iron spear of exceptional size. The chair was in fragments before Helbig could view it, but he was able to note that it had been decorated with figures of animals in repoussé. Two ivory dice and some small pieces of ivory carved into lions' heads, probably from a casket, were found in the same right-hand division. In the left-hand compartment the objects were all lying in

confusion. There were many fragments of bucchero ornamented with stamped figures, a large bucchero basin with seven griffin-heads in the style of the large cauldrons which have been described in other tombs, twenty balsamaries of the usual yellow clay painted with lines and bands, a number of white or green glass beads, and two iron axes. In the centre of this tumbled mass stood, upside down, the magnificent ivory situla illustrated in Nos. 1 and 1 b of Plate 44.¹ The situla is about 27 centimetres high by 12 centimetres in diameter; it is carved with scenes of men and animals, in four rows, separated by narrow bands of honeysuckle pattern, with a running border of lotuses at the top and bottom. Very remarkable is the scene in the top row which shows a boat preceded and followed by men and animals. Below this is a chariot followed by fully armed foot soldiers, with a man on horseback for each four on foot. This, and the lower zones in which only fantastic animals are represented,

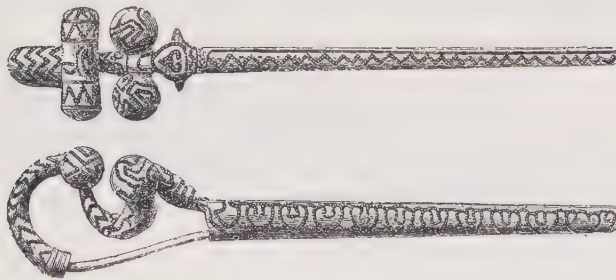


FIG. 68. Gold fibula of the Pania tomb. After Montelius, Plate 224. Full size.

will remind the reader of the scenes on the silver bowls and carved ivories of Southern Etruria which were described in the last chapter; and there can be no doubt that the Pania situla should be ascribed to the same source and the same date. It forms a definite link with the famous tombs of

Praeneste and Caere, and shows that in the middle of the seventh century Chiusi was beginning to participate in the new art movement derived from the Aegean and the nearer East. In this case the evidence of the pottery is fortunately complete, and it fully bears out the statements as to date and period which were made in the last chapter. The Pania tomb antedates all true Corinthian pottery, of which no slightest fragment was found, and may, therefore, be placed in the latest *ante-Corinthian* period, or say about the year 650 B. C. The gold fibula is in the Antiquarium in Berlin; the ivory situla and the most important of the other objects are in the Florence Museum. The entire contents of the tomb are reproduced by Montelius, from the illustrations in the *Bullettino*, *Annali*, and *Monumenti*, in his Plates 224, 225.

The contents of another tomb from Pania, acquired by purchase in 1905, are exhibited in a case of the same room in the Florence Museum, and described in the museum catalogue. They include an ivory situla which may be compared and contrasted with the last. It is obviously a little later in period, as is proved by the accompanying pottery, even apart from the style of the carvings.²

¹ See the large-scale drawing in *Mon. Inst.*, vol. x, Plate 38 A.

² The circumstances of the finding of this tomb, and its details have never been described, as Milani

Of the strictly ante-Corinthian period in Northern Etruria there are practically no remains from any of the great inland cities except Chiusi. Orvieto, which is so rich in antiquities of the Corinthian and late periods, has yielded nothing so early as the Regolini-Galassi time. From Perugia there is nothing of that date; and even Volterra, though doubtless its history is as ancient as that of Chiusi, has hitherto produced no tombs between the Villanovan and the Greek periods.¹ The excavations of Populonia may be expected in due course to add much to our knowledge of the earliest Etruscans, but as yet the gap between the Villanovan age and the end of the seventh century is still unfilled even on that most promising site.²

Cortona—the Mound of Camuscia

Cortona is the only inland city of the north for which there is even the most fragmentary information in the Vetulonian period. Such as it is this information is derived entirely from the excavation of the great mound of Camuscia, commonly known as the Grotta Sergardi, which was excavated by François in 1842.³ The mound was a great tumulus, 62 metres in diameter by 14 metres in height.

It contained two parallel oblong chambers, each 9 metres in length, approached by a corridor 13 metres in length. Each chamber was subdivided into an outer and an inner cella, and there was a lateral niche on each side of the corridor in front of the entrance to the chambers. The plan, therefore, as shown in Fig. 69, is very similar to that of the Regolini-Galassi tomb, and the construction, with its corbelled roofing, is exactly similar in style, though the blocks used are smaller. Both chambers had been thoroughly plundered, and contained only the débris of small objects, some of which were as late as the second or third century B. C., a fact which may easily be explained by supposing that the chambers had been re-used for burials many generations after the mound was constructed. In the upper part of the tumulus, just as in the mound of La Pietrera at Vetulonia, were found three small tombs. One

died before the fourth volume of his *Studi e Materiali* could be published.

¹ Though no doubt an occasional specimen such as the stele of Larthi Atharnies in the Florence museum may be ante-Corinthian.

² The most recent excavations at Populonia, of which the results have just been published in a complete volume, are of extreme interest, but scarcely carry us back beyond the period of chamber-tombs and seventh-century geometric pottery. They throw no light on the crucial times

of the eighth century, for which we must await the results of the next series of excavations. See Minto, 'Populonia, la necropoli arcaica', in the *Pubblicazioni del R. Istituto di Studi superiori pratici e di perfezionamento in Firenze—Sezione di filologia e filosofia*, n.s., vol. iv.

³ *Bull. Inst.*, 1843, pp. 33, 49. See also Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* (1878), ii, p. 409. The information from these and other sources is sufficiently summarized in Montelius, *Civ. prim.*, *Ser. B*, cols. 807–10.

of these was fortunately intact, and from the objects which it contained the date can be very closely fixed. There were two ossuaries, the one of bronze and the other of pottery, each containing cremated ashes, shown in Plate 46, nos. 1, 2. With these were some black bucchero vases, of which the finest is shown in Plate 46, no. 3; some proto-Corinthian pieces; an iron fibula; an iron axe, and two iron spear-heads. There was, moreover, a stone mortuary

couch of tufa carved on the front with eight kneeling figures of female mourners in low relief, which is one of the most important examples of the sculpture of this time (Montelius, Plates 173 and 174).

The objects from the Grotta Sergardi in the Florence Museum are extraordinarily different from one another in date and must range over two or three centuries; a fact which did not escape the acuteness of Milani. If, however, we may trust the statement that those which have just been enumerated form the complete furniture of the one exterior grave which was found intact, then there can be little doubt as to the date of that grave. It must be 'ante-Corinthian' or just possibly

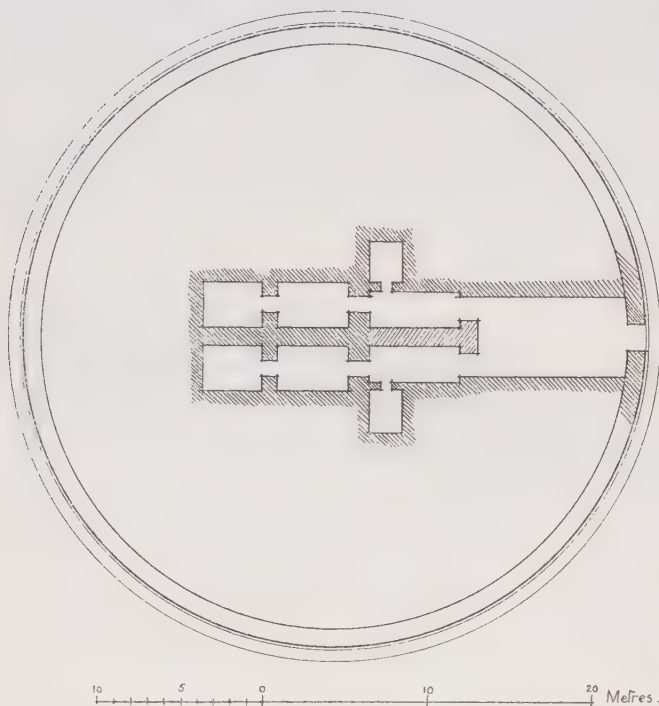


FIG. 69. Plan of the Grotta Sergardi. After Canina, *Etruria marittima*. Plate 129.

early Corinthian.¹ In either case we are justified in considering the main chamber of the mound, which must necessarily be somewhat earlier than the superficial graves, as definitely ante-Corinthian. The most probable view seems to be that the mound itself with its main chamber dates from between 700 B. C. and 650 B. C., while the superficial graves are a generation or two later. The bronze ossuary is a remarkably early looking specimen, but the bucchero ossuary and the bucchero vase (Plate 46, nos. 2, 3) might very well be contemporary with the Panja tomb of Chiusi.

For construction the Grotta Sergardi should be compared on the one hand with the mound of La Pietrera and on the other with the Regolini-Galassi tomb.

¹ This reservation is made in order to cover the possibility that one vase which has the regular cat-faced griffins of early Corinthian ware may belong to the intact grave.

The Tumulus of Castellina in Chianti

Another great tumulus, perhaps the most perfect and complete of any which have survived from the seventh century, has long been known to exist at Montecalvario near Castellina in Chianti, about ten miles from Siena. It was examined in 1904 by Milani, and completely explored eleven years later by Pernier.¹

The mound, of which a plan is shown below in Fig. 70, contains four masonry tombs, each of which is orientated to a cardinal point of the compass. Two of them, viz. the southern and the western, are precisely identical in plan; the other two are a little less elaborate, with fewer chambers. Both the masonry and the style of building closely resemble the masonry and style of the Grotta Sergardi and the Regolini-Galassi tombs. Chambers and corridors are roofed with corbelled blocks without any attempt at the construction of an arch, the principle of which is evidently still unknown.² The doors are marked by monolithic jambs, supporting plain stone beams of great size and weight, which form an architrave over the entrance.

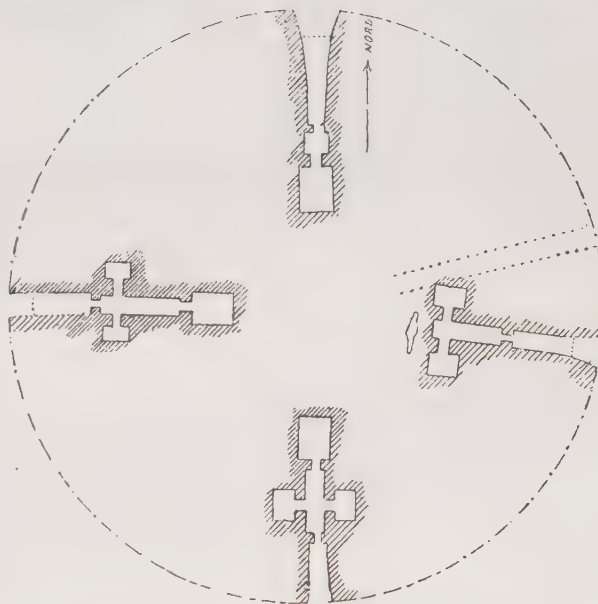


FIG. 70. Plan of the tumulus of Montecalvario at Castellina. From *Not. Scavi*, 1916, p. 265.

The most important objects are those discovered in the excavation of 1904 when the western tomb was opened. At the entrance to this was a fragment of blue glass, and a little farther on within the corridor was found a fragment of bronze worked *à jour* with an interlacing floral pattern. Also within the corridor were fragments of gold leaf, and a small piece of iron perhaps belonging to some candelabrum. Only one of the chambers in this western tomb, viz. the

¹ *Not. Sc.*, 1905, pp. 226-42, and 1916, pp. 264-81.

² No true arch has yet been found at this period. The Tanella di Pitagora, a tomb of unknown date at Cortona, had voussoir-shaped blocks which did not form an arch but were themselves supported by a semicircular stone (See Montelius, *Civ. prim.*, *Series B.*, cols. 806, 807). This is perhaps the first stage towards the evolution

of an arch and may explain the finding of voussoir-shaped blocks in the tumulus of La Pietrera (cf. *supra*, p. 153). The tholos form of roofing, as seen in a tomb at Volterra and in the Vetulonian mound called the Cucumella del Diavolino, does not of course imply any knowledge of the arch. For the tholos type see Montelius, Plate 172, and cf. Milani's *Guide to the Museo archeologico di Firenze*, p. 282.

southern chamber, had been left partially unspoiled by the original plunderers. It contained no objects of intrinsic value, but a very interesting series of fragments, some in iron and others in bronze, which had once composed a chariot. The finest pieces are reproduced in Plate 46, nos. 4 to 9. Of these No. 4 is a round sheet of bronze, engraved with the winged figure of a deity, which may have formed the central decoration of the 'antyx'. No. 5 is a helmeted figure in bronze, worked partly *à jour* and partly in low relief engraved. No. 6 is an engraved band of bronze, perhaps from the antyx, which shows a sacrificial scene and a combat. No. 7 is one of several iron fragments worked *à jour* with an interlacing pattern surmounted by figures of animals. No. 8 is a bronze figure of a panther in the round, and No. 9 is part of a decorative bronze panel engraved with a row of lions above ornamental lines of rosettes and palmettos.

Other portions of the chariot are illustrated in the article of the *Notizie degli Scavi*, from which these figures have been reproduced. They give the best idea which can yet be formed of the decorative art which was applied to this kind of work, for the chariots of Vetulonia, Praeneste, and Caere have perished beyond all possibility of reconstruction. Some well-preserved portions of a chariot have lately been found at Populonia, but they belong to a slightly later period, while the great chariot from Monteleone, now in New York, the finest extant example of Etruscan bronze work, is, of course, quite appreciably later.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE 46

PLATE 46. CORTONA. *The Tumulus of Camuscia*, nos. 1-3. CASTELLINA. *The Tumulus of Montecalvario*, nos. 4-9.

Nos. 1-3 are from Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Plates 173, 174.

Nos. 4-9 from the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, pp. 226-42.

No. 1. A bronze ossuary ; scale $\frac{1}{8}$. No. 2, a pottery ossuary ; scale $\frac{1}{8}$. No. 3, bucchero vase ; scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

Nos. 4-9. Parts of the metal work decorating a chariot. No. 4 has no scale. Nos. 5-9 are scale of $\frac{1}{2}$. All bronze except no. 7, which is iron.



Nos. 1-3. Bronze and Pottery Vases from the Tumulus of Camuscia
 Nos. 4-9. Bronze Decorations of a Chariot from the Tumulus of Castellina di Chianti

The southern, eastern, and northern tombs within the tumulus had been so completely despoiled that no objects of any interest were found in them with the exception of a remarkable lion's head carved in *pietra serena*, which had probably formed the decoration of a door-jamb.¹ It was discovered in the principal chamber of the southern tomb, but had evidently been moved from its original position. The only other objects found in these three tombs were fragments of bronze plates representing the remains of bronze vessels, some fragments of iron worked *à jour*, the feet of an iron tripod, some iron cylinders, part of a wooden staff sheathed in bronze, and part of another staff sheathed in silver-plated iron. From the style of the sculptured lion's head and the decoration of palmettos on one of the fragments of bronze plate, Pernier judges the tombs to be about 650 B. C.

Dates of Etruscan Tumuli in General

This date corresponds very closely with that which I have assigned to all the great tumuli in Etruria, of which the earliest are probably the four huge mounds of Vetulonia. Between 700 and 650 B. C. is the date of the Regolini-Galassi tomb, and almost exactly contemporary with the Regolini-Galassi is the Grotta Sergardi, while the famous 'Cucumella' of Vulci is attributed to just the same time. It cannot be shown in fact that any great sepulchral monument of this character is appreciably earlier than 700 B. C. Now as the Etruscans came into Italy about the middle or end of the ninth century, this dating of the great mounds is fatal to the old thesis propounded by Dennis and recently upheld by Modestov that the Etruscans brought with them a style of architecture which they had learned in their native Asia Minor. Whether we believe or do not believe in the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, no argument whatsoever can be based on any supposed similarity of tomb architecture. During a hundred or a hundred and fifty years the Etruscans at Vetulonia and elsewhere used tombs which have not the faintest resemblance to the monumental types characteristic of Caria and Lydia. It was only about 700 B. C. that they began to show any trace of architectural skill, and the still later circular tombs of Caere which Canina has so attractively portrayed, represent not the beginnings but the comparatively advanced development of the art of building in Etruria. The really early Etruscan graves when they have any form more ambitious than a simple trench are plain rings of stones, often perhaps filled and mounded over with earth, but

¹ See illustrations in *Not. Sc.*, 1916, figs. 13, 14.

never showing even the most rudimentary knowledge of architecture. This is the type seen at Vetulonia and Marsiliana in the eighth century, before the tide of foreign influence had reached its height among the Etruscans. If there is really any resemblance between some of their seventh- or sixth-century tombs and those of the near East, it is to be explained by that love of imitation and adaptability to new impressions which always characterized Etruscan life and civilization. From their original native home, wherever that may have been, they brought no knowledge and no skill in the arts of sculpture and architecture ; these they learned later from foreign masters.

EPILOGUE

IT is neither desirable nor possible to embody in a few pages of summary at the end of the volume conclusions based upon the descriptive chapters which compose this book. Principally this is because the subjects in themselves forbid any such finality of treatment. On every page, and in almost every paragraph, there are themes for long discussion and argument ; it is seldom that an incontrovertible conclusion can be claimed. And even in these rare cases it may happen that what seems to have been won may be lost again ; many a battle will yet be waged over the ground which I have surveyed. But my immediate business is with the survey and not with the battles, for in these I choose to take but little part, having no thesis to maintain and no theory to champion. My aim has been simply to provide the documents as an archivist prepares the way for the historian, arranging them in consistent and orderly form, with just so much criticism as may help the student to avoid false turnings. Accordingly I have resisted all temptations to expand or elaborate, and have written not a single line which did not seem indispensable for presenting one or another aspect of the ascertained facts. But I have tried on the other hand to present the facts with such fullness, and with so much appreciation of their many-sided interest, that from whatever angle the reader approaches these subjects he may find some guidance.

I have written for specialists, not for amateurs, but there will no doubt be some who will take up this book in the spirit of general historians, with no wish to pass judgement on technical questions but with a legitimate desire to know what they may safely use for their own purposes. For these I will condense into a few sentences the most important results which seem to emerge already with some clearness from the mists of controversy and the tangle of detail. Briefly then these may be stated as follows :

1. The Villanovans were a people entirely distinct from the Etruscans, of different race and different origin.
2. They preceded the Etruscans by at least two centuries in Etruria and Latium, and had settled around Bologna fully five hundred years before the Etruscans planted colonies east of the Apennines.
3. They came into Italy from the north side of the Alps, and their civilization is closely related to the Iron Age civilization of Central Europe and the Upper Danube.

4. They were related by a more or less close cousinship to the two other cremating peoples of the Iron Age in Italy, viz., those who lived in the region of the Italian Lakes and those who centred about Este with ramifications through Venetia.

5. They were also related, in a degree which it is still too early to define, to the Bronze Age people of the Terremare. It is not yet safe to declare that they were actually descended from the latter.

6. They had attained a grade of culture which for a barbaric people must be considered fairly high, without any appreciable aid or inspiration from the Aegean or the Orient.

7. The Villanovan civilization was radically transformed by the Etruscans, who brought in wholly new arts and influences. But it survived uncontaminated in the Bolognese region for three hundred years after it had been swamped in Etruria and Latium.

8. The Etruscans were a people who came from the near East, probably from Asia Minor. This is proved not only by the general character but by the particular detail of their arts and industries.

9. The Etruscans must have come by sea, as there is no trace of them in the neighbourhood of the Alps until the end of the sixth century, whereas their earliest settlements are almost without exception on the actual sea coast of Etruria. Niebuhr's view that they entered Italy by land across the Alps is therefore quite discredited.

10. The arrival of the Etruscans must be dated on the extant archaeological evidence to the latter half of the ninth century B.C.

11. The Greek alphabet which the Etruscans used was probably learned by them in their original home, as it differs in some respects from the alphabet used in the Greek colonies of Southern Italy. Their architecture, however, was primitive and rudimentary until about 700 B.C., when they began to learn and copy from foreign models.

12. As they came a considerable distance by sea it is improbable that the Etruscans arrived in any considerable force.

Leaving these comparatively certain generalizations I may hazard a few suggestions as to the character of the Etruscan invasion. The Norman conquests of Sicily and of England in the eleventh century A.D. offer a fascinating and attractive analogy. The comparison must not of course be pressed too far, but the principal underlying factors are identical and the results may have been somewhat similar. In Sicily the conquest of the island was made by a mere handful of adventurers; in England it was made by a comparatively small

number of highly organized fighting men. Considering the distance that they had to traverse by sea it is *a priori* probable that the number of invading Etruscans did not equal the roll of William the Conqueror's knights with their attendants. Very possibly it may not have greatly exceeded the little force that followed Roger into Sicily and grew by inconsiderable accretions in the following years. In either case we might be justified in representing the movement as that of a small force rather than an overwhelming horde, as the triumph of intelligence over numbers. Normans and conquistadores are to be counted as individuals not as regiments.

If these comparisons may be allowed then it would seem to follow that the Villanovan was placed towards the Etruscan in much the same relation as the Saxon towards his Norman overlord. Apparently submerged and stifled, the Villanovans, like the Saxons, may have survived and retained their essential character beneath the disguise of an alien civilization. In them perhaps may be detected the real backbone of the later Etruscan nation. The English of our day are so fused into one whole that if all documentary records of the Norman invasion had been destroyed it would have been easy for a future Helbig to maintain that Normans and Saxons were really indistinguishable, the one growing out of the other by a natural process of evolution.

I put this forward as a suggestion rather than a theory, as a subject for discussion rather than a dogma, under the conviction that the scales have not generally been held with perfect impartiality. There is no danger whatsoever that historians will underrate the importance of the Etruscans, but they have scarcely attached sufficient value to the earlier native stocks upon which the Etruscan power was grafted.

APPENDIX A

INVENTORY OF THE BERNARDINI TOMB

(After Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, vol. iii, 1919.)

	<i>Curtis</i>	<i>Montelius</i>	<i>This volume</i>
1. Rectangular plaque of pure gold, 0.17 m. long by 0.067 broad, ornamented with two human heads and 131 animals and birds	p. 19, Pls. 1, 2	Pl. 370, no. 7	p. 216, Pl. 41, no. 1
2. Serpentine fibula of pure gold 0.117 m. long	p. 21, Pl. 3	Pl. 370, no. 4	p. 216, Pl. 41, no. 2
3. Comb-shaped belt-buckle, 0.155 m. long, of gold mixed with silver	p. 22, Pl. 4	Pl. 369, no. 1	p. 217, Pl. 41, no. 3
4. Part of a gold belt-buckle, consisting of a tube ornamented with granulated lines 0.195 m. long, with a row of lions on either side executed in the round	p. 23, Pl. 5	Pl. 370, no. 6	p. 217
5. Similar gold tube 0.193 m. long, ornamented with granulated lines but without any lions	p. 25, Pl. 5	—	p. 217
6. A third tube, similar to the last but broken	p. 26	—	p. 217
7 & 8. Two tiny gold plaques, plain	p. 26, Pl. 2	—	—
9. Thin strip of gold, 0.161 m. long, ornamented in relief with a row of human-headed birds with outspread wings	p. 26, Pl. 4	Pl. 368, no. 4	—
10 & 11. Two gold-plated silver 'buttons'	p. 26, Pl. 6	—	—
12-15. Pieces of silver-wire belonging to belt-knuckles, probably broken from nos. 5 and 6	p. 28, Pl. 7	—	—
16. Gold-plated silver clasp, decorated with granulations and with lion-headed sphinxes and human Janus heads in the round	p. 29, Pl. 9	Pl. 370, no. 2	p. 218
17. Similar gold-plated clasp, 0.093 m. long, decorated with human-headed sphinxes in the round	p. 30, Pl. 9	Pl. 370, no. 1	p. 218
18. Fragments of five silver fibulae with the bow in the form of an animal	p. 31, Pl. 8	Pl. 367, no. 5	p. 218
19. Three slender silver rods, perhaps from a belt-buckle	p. 32, Pl. 8	—	—

	<i>Curtis</i>	<i>Montelius</i>	<i>This volume</i>
20. A two-handled skyphos of pure gold with two seated sphinxes on each handle	p. 32, Pl. 10	Pl. 370, no. 5	p. 218
21. Fragments of gold-foil, many decorated in relief	p. 33, Pl. 11	—	—
22. More pieces of silver wire like nos. 12-15	p. 33	—	—
23. Nearly spherical, round-bottomed silver bowl, 0.14 m. high, covered both inside and out with a thick sheet of gold, undecorated within but engraved with pictorial scenes on outside	p. 33, Pls. 12-18	Pl. 367, no. 8	p. 210, Pl. 38, no. 2
24. Small silver bowl, 0.06 m. high, covered with gold plate inside and out. Decorated on the inside only with engraved and embossed zones of horses and bulls	p. 37, Pl. 19	Pl. 367, no. 3	p. 218
25. Shallow silver bowl or platter 0.19 m. in diameter and 0.034 m. high, covered with gold on the inside. The pictorial decoration, engraved with some details in relief, shows both inside and out	p. 38, Pls. 20, 21	Pl. 368, no. 5	p. 212, Pl. 39, no. 2
26. Shallow silver bowl or platter of dimensions identical with the last, not gilded. Pictorial decoration embossed and engraved	p. 43, Pls. 22, 23	Pl. 369, no. 7	p. 211, Pl. 39, no. 1
27. Bronze dagger, 0.375 m. long in maximum length, with amber handle surrounded by a gold band ornamented with granulations. Silver sheath	p. 45, Pl. 24	Pl. 369, no. 6	p. 219, Pl. 42, no. 2
28. Iron dagger in silver sheath, with handle of ivory and amber. The sheath is 0.343 m. long, embossed with pictorial scenes, and decorated at the end with a gold flower	p. 46, Pl. 25	Pl. 369, no. 8	p. 219
29. Silver knob, probably the pommel of a weapon	p. 48, Pl. 28	—	—
30. Deep silver bowl, undecorated, with perforated lid, and with ladle attached. The bowl is 0.153 m. high, the lid 0.118 in diameter	p. 49, Pl. 26	Pl. 366, no. 12	—

	<i>Curtis</i>	<i>Montelius</i>	<i>This volume</i>
31. Bronze handle, 0.123 m. high, covered with strips of silver ornamented with lions and horses in relief	p. 49, Pl. 27	Pl. 367, fig. 1	—
32. Silver bowl, 0.082 m. high, engraved with scale pattern on rim	p. 50, Pl. 27	not illustrated but cf. 339, fig. 1	—
33. Silver bowl similar to last, 0.073 m. high by 0.13 m. diameter	p. 51, Pl. 29	—	—
34-5. Two plain silver plates crushed out of shape; diameter from 0.154 m. to 0.187 m.	p. 51, Pl. 28	—	—
36. Silver jug, crushed, the junction of the handle covered with a gold-plated palmetto	p. 51, Pl. 29	—	—
37. Silver bowl, about 0.13 m. high, engraved near base with concentric semicircles	p. 51, Pl. 30	—	—
38. Small silver cup engraved along top with semicircles and arcs	p. 52, Pl. 30	—	—
39. Silver bowl similar to nos. 32 and 33	p. 52, Pl. 30	—	—
40. Fragment of silver hilt with fragment of iron dagger	p. 52, Pl. 28	—	—
41. Silver strainer	p. 53, Pl. 30	—	—
42. Fragments of sheet silver ornamented in relief with designs of animals and floral ornaments. Probably covering of a chest	p. 52, Pls. 31, 32	—	—
43. Fragments of plain silver vases similar in shape to no. 20	p. 53, Pl. 33	—	—
44. Fragments of silver serpentine fibulae	p. 53, Pl. 33	—	—
45 to 55. Fragments of carved ivory	pp. 54-64, Pls. 34-41	Pl. 366, 369	p. 215, Pl. 40, nos. 1-5
56 to 59. Fragments of amber, some from sword handles and some from inlaid objects	p. 65, Pl. 42	—	—
60. Hemispherical bowl of dark-blue glass 0.075 m. high and 0.102 in diameter	p. 65, Pl. 43	—	p. 219
61. Small pear-shaped vase of coarse clay with green glazed surface, definitely not Egyptian	p. 65, Pl. 43	Pl. 366, no. 14	—
62. Part of a clay bowl glazed like the last	p. 66, Pl. 43	—	—
63. Fragments of proto-Corinthian ware with linear decoration. The evidence of their belonging to the tomb is not conclusive	p. 66, Pl. 44	—	p. 219

	<i>Curtis</i>	<i>Montelius</i>	<i>This volume</i>
64. Parts of a bronze bowl 0·112 m. high, decorated in high relief with human heads, figures of lions, and a bull, and flowers. Originally filled inside with the bronze lining listed as 69	p. 66, Pls. 44, 45	Pl. 367, no. 6	p. 219
65. Bronze bowl 0·09 m. high and 0·21 m. in diameter, decorated in high relief like the last with five human heads and five bulls' heads. The bowl has an inner lining of bronze like the last	p. 68, Pl. 46	Pl. 366, no. 10	p. 220
66. Bronze bowl 0·072 m. high by 0·142 m. in diameter. Undecorated	p. 69, Pl. 47	—	—
67. Shallow fluted bronze bowl of type common on other sites	p. 69, Pl. 47	Pl. 366, no. 11	—
68. Bronze bowl 0·055 m. high by 0·185 m. in diameter. Formed of two layers but undecorated	p. 69, Pl. 47	—	—
69. The bronze inner shell of no. 64	p. 69, Pl. 45	—	—
70. Undistinguishable fragments of bronze	—	—	—
71. Belt-clasp formed of two male figures roughly modelled in bronze	p. 69, Pl. 48	Pl. 368, no. 3	—
72. Tripod of bronze and iron supporting a bronze basin with human and animal figures fastened outside it. Combined height 0·63 m., diameter of basin 0·23 m.	p. 70, Pls. 48-50	Pl. 366, no. 9	p. 220, Pl. 42, no. 1
73. Bronze bowl 0·11 m. high by 0·325 m. in diameter, with two vertical handles each decorated with an open flower and a pair of bulls' heads in the round	p. 72, Pl. 51	—	—
74. Plain bronze bowl formed of an outer and inner shell 0·1 m. high by 0·25 m. in diameter	p. 72, Pl. 50	—	—
75. Fragments of a very large hammered bronze cauldron which had originally two winged human figures and six griffin-heads attached to the rim	p. 72, Pls. 52-4	—	p. 220
76, 77. A pair of bronze andirons, or craticula, consisting of a flat strip 0·03 wide and 0·64 m. long supported on legs 0·12 m. high	p. 75, Pl. 55	Pl. 366, no. 17	Pl. 42, no. 3

A. INVENTORY OF THE BERNARDINI TOMB 265

	<i>Curtis</i>	<i>Montelius</i>	<i>This volume</i>
78. Bronze tripod consisting of three flat strips supporting a plain bronze basin formed of an outer and inner shell. Combined height 0.33 m., diameter of basin 0.385 m.	p. 75, Pl. 56	Pl. 366, no. 16	—
79. Plain bronze situla with cover and two ribbon handles, 0.445 m. high by 0.36 m. in diameter at the top	p. 76, Pl. 57	Pl. 366, no. 18	Pl. 42, no. 4
80. Plain bronze cauldron 0.365 m. in diameter	p. 77, Pl. 56	—	—
81. Conical bronze stand 0.91 m. high, formed of a thin sheet of bronze ornamented in relief. On the body of the stand are two pairs of heraldic horses, above which are lotuses and a band of uraeus serpents surmounted by a conventionalized ring of leaves forming a miniature capital	p. 77, Pls. 58, 59	Pl. 367, no. 7	p. 220
82. Fragments of a large bronze shield with concentric zones of human and animal figures in repoussé	p. 77, Pls. 60, 61	—	—
83. Bronze spear with blade and haft in one piece	p. 79, Pl. 62	Pl. 369, no. 9	—
84. Two bronze handles for shields	p. 79, Pl. 62	—	—
85. Fragments of three bronze bowls	p. 80	—	—
86. Four bronze rings from the harness of horses	p. 80, Pl. 62	—	—
87. Bronze handles of vases	p. 80, Pl. 63	—	—
88. Fragments of animal teeth	p. 81, Pl. 63	—	—
89. Two iron axes and various fragments of iron	p. 81, Pl. 63	—	—
90, 91. Bronze sheaths, perhaps for corners of a bed, with rudely modelled figures of men and animals	p. 82, Pl. 65 p. 84, Pl. 66	Pl. 369, nos. 2-4 Pl. 366, no. 13	— —
92-5. Bronze animals for similar sheaths	pp. 84, 85, Pl. 67	—	—

APPENDIX B

INVENTORY OF THE BARBERINI TOMB

1. Silver-gilt plate decorated with pictorial scenes, engraved and in very slight relief. The central medallion shows a man with a sword combating a lion. The two zones surrounding this represent a lion-hunt. See p. 223.
Museum 13205.
2. An ivory cup on pedestal carved with figures of animals. To the pedestal were originally attached four ivory female figures carved in the round. P. 224, Illustrated in Plate 40, no. 7.
Museum 13234.
3. A similar ivory cup, incomplete, carved with figures of galloping horsemen. The men are bearded and wear a short tunic. P. 224.
Museum 13228.
4. Seven female figures carved in ivory. They have pegs on the top of their heads and were probably affixed to the pedestals of the two cups mentioned above. The figures are clothed in short-sleeved tunics and wear a single long plait of hair falling to the feet. P. 224.
Museum 13404.
5. Ivory figure of a lion with the body of a dead man slung across his back. Probably part of a larger group from the top of a casket. P. 224. Illustrated in Plate 40, no. 6.
Museum 13223.
6. A broken quadrangular plaque of ivory which was probably the top of the casket to which no. 5 belonged. There are traces of a human foot and of the lion's paws belonging to figures which have perished. P. 224.
Museum 13422.
7. Cone-shaped fragment of ivory, perhaps the pedestal of a cup. It is carved in two bands, the upper of which shows winged sphinxes and the lower winged lions.
Museum 13403.
8. An ivory fore-arm carved with eight bands of motives in relief. Four of the bands repeat an identical floral design, the other four depict bulls and lions. P. 224. Illustrated in Plate 40, no. 8.
Museum 13230.
9. Ivory fore-arm of same style as the last, carved with five rows of figures. The central band has floral motives, the other four represent fantastic animals, lions, and bulls, all in combat.
Museum 13232.
10. Ivory fore-arm of same style as the last, carved with four rows of figures, of which one is only palmettos, while the other three represent griffins, lions, and sphinxes.
Museum 13231.
- 11-15. Fragments of similar ivory fore-arms carved with rows of animals.
Museum 13417-19.
16. Two small masks of carved ivory representing bearded men without moustaches; the eyes are hollow, and must have been filled with paste or other material. The masks have pegs in the back which shows that they were attached to some object as decoration. P. 224.
Museum 13394.
17. Two small ivory masks carved to represent female heads. P. 224.
Museum 13420.

18. Eight small figures of squatting lions carved in ivory ; the circular hollows in the base of each show that they were all attached as ornaments, perhaps to a box or a handle. P. 224.
Museum 13409.
19. Nine small figures of lions in the same style as the last but differing slightly from them in detail. They also bear the marks of having been fastened upon some box or handle. P. 224.
Museum 13413.
20. Two panther heads of carved ivory, represented in profile with open mouths. In one case the eye shows traces of a filling with amber. P. 224.
Museum 13399.
21. Two horses' heads of carved ivory, with pegs in the back so placed as to suggest that the heads formed the corner-pieces of a box. P. 224.
Museum 13397.
22. Fragments of an ivory cylinder, on the rim of which are carved lions or panthers each with a foot on his neighbour's neck.
Museum 13422.
23. Upper part of a female figure carved in ivory, with hair falling in two plaits on her back.
Museum 13422.
24. Curved horn of ivory, hollow and shaped like a musical instrument, with traces of bronze at the mouth-piece. It is inlaid with small plaques of amber and decorated both in graffito and in relief. The decoration includes two zones of incised figures amongst which are lions, stags, and goats. P. 225.
Museum 13329.
25. A small cylindrical situla of ivory carved with ribbed bands but without figures.
Museum 13235.
26. Gold ornament, consisting of a gold plate backed with bronze on to which were soldered three gold cylinders ornamented with granulation and carrying rows of animals. On each of the two flat spaces between the cylinders and the margin stands another row of animals. The cylinders are formed at each end into animal heads which curve back over the top. At each corner there is a similar animal's head curving in the same place as the base of the ornament. The style resembles that of no. 1 in the Bernardini tomb more than any other known piece. P. 225.
Museum 13207.
27. A gold clasp made up of two corresponding parts fitting together by hooks and rings. Each half is composed of gold plates bearing twelve figures of sphinxes in two rows of six. The gold plates are carried by three small curving tubes which terminate in as many flower-buds. P. 225. Illustrated in Fig. 67.
Museum 13211.
28. Part of a small gold clasp consisting of an oblong hollow cap ornamented with very delicate filigree. On the oblong are three birds with female heads executed in the round with details in granulation. At the end of the cap are three arched necks terminating in panther-heads in the same technique as the human-headed birds. P. 225.
Museum 13212.
29. A gold cylinder, backed with bronze, which must have formed part of a comb-shaped clasp. It is decorated with geometrical designs in granulated work. P. 225.
Museum 13210.
30. Comb-shaped object of silver, plated with gold, which is evidently the clasp of which the cylinder above mentioned formed the backbone. Little birds, executed in the round with details in granulation, are perched along the outside edge on each side of the comb. P. 225.
Museum 13208.

31. Two small serpentine gold fibulae with wide sheaths, of the type found in the tomb of the 'Three Boats' at Vetulonia. P. 226.
Museum 13215, 13216.
32. Serpentine gold fibula with a bow composed of two rods instead of one, surmounted by lotus-buds and four small birds in the round (illustrated in Montelius, Pl. 364, fig. 3). P. 226.
Museum 13214.
33. Long silver headpin, with a gold head in the form of a petalled flower-bud.
Museum 13222.
34. Two gold pins, of the size of our scarf-pins, with heads formed of five or six little loops making a flower-like circle.
Museum 13217.
35. Semicircular handle of silver with a ring at each end. It must have been the handle of a silver-covered situla, like that from another Praeneste tomb which is shown in Plate 42, no. 10. On either side there was a female head below the attachment of the handle. P. 226.
Museum 13227.
36. Silver oenochoe with oval body and trefoil mouth. The handle is formed of two rods of silver, and the place where they join the body is marked by a gilded palmetto.
Museum 13224.
37. Gilded silver two-handled skyphos in fragments, ornamented with several zones of engraved figures. The motives are lotuses, palmettos, browsing sheep, lions.
Museum 13226.
38. Gilded silver two-handled skyphos in fragments with engraved figures. At the bottom is a six-petalled flower; along the rim is a row of small birds, farther down can be detected birds, bulls and other animals.
Museum 13225.
39. Bronze cauldron, similar to the great hammered bronze cauldrons of Vetulonia, and of the Bernardini and Regolini-Galassi tombs. Attached to the rim are four bronze heads, viz. two of griffins and two of lions, with long necks.
Museum 13178.
40. Stand of hammered bronze, probably belonging to the cauldron just mentioned. It resembles no. 81 of the Bernardini tomb in shape and style. The conical body is decorated in repoussé with a group twice repeated of androcephalous winged lions separated by a tall stylized palmetto. Above these is a row of spherical and oval hanging buds. The capital is shaped like a thistle-head with two rows of sepals. P. 226. Illustrated in Plate 42, no. 6.
Museum 13177.
41. A hemispherical bronze basin, finely ornamented in very high relief, supported on three bronze legs of plain ribbon form. The ornamentation consists of a woman's head with the outspread wings of a bird, six times repeated. Below these figures are six bulls' heads, each separated from the next by a stylized palmetto. Pp. 226, 227. Illustrated in Plate 42, no. 7.
Museum 13131.
42. Bronze skyphos ornamented in relief with two rows of figures, below which is a band of palmetto pattern. The upper row consists of a bull, lion, horseman, stag, a centaur menacing a sphinx, and a 'Chimaera'. In the second row are two ostriches, a panther, bull, fawn, griffin. P. 227. Illustrated in Plate 42, no. 8.
Museum 13132.
43. Throne, consisting of a solid drum-shaped base with a solid curved back like an armchair. The original wooden body has perished and only the bronze plates with which it was faced remain. These plates are joined together by rivets and decorated with repoussé designs of men and animals in rather poor workmanship. P. 227. Illustrated in Plate 42, no. 5.
Museum 13087.

44. Fragments of a bronze and iron tripod. The bronze feet are cloven like goats' feet and from them rise the iron rods which formed the support. Three small figures of men and one of a dog, all cast in the round, no doubt formed the decoration. They must have been attached so as to peer over the edge of the bowl, as in no. 72 of the Bernardini tomb. P. 227.
Museum 13192.
45. Two bronze girdles, which differ from the earlier girdles in being composed of three distinct plates joined together by hinges. They are elaborately engraved viz. the central plaque with a pair of winged lions separated by a palmetto, the side plaques with a winged and bearded sphinx. P. 227.
Museum 13201.
46. Fragments of at least four large round shields ornamented in concentric zones not only with geometrical motives but also with figures of men, horses, lions, and other animals. P. 227.
Museum 13185.
47. Fragments of bronze and iron from a chariot without decoration.
Museum 13198, 13637.
48. Four hemispherical bronze basins.
Museum 13068-70 and 13072.
49. Four fluted bronze bowls of the usual kind, and fragments of more. Illustrated in Plate 42, no. 9.
Museum 13073-5.
50. Two bronze oenochae with oval body and trefoil mouth.
Museum 13088.
51. Five small bronze jugs with ribbon handles.
Museum 13159, 13162, 13203.
52. Six small plain two-handled bronze cups.
Museum 13163, 13204.
53. The lid of a censer of regular Vetulonian pattern surmounted by lotus-flower and vertical perforated disc to which is attached the usual folding handle of several strands.
Museum 13966.

APPENDIX C

ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT VEII, 1913-1916

It is expected that a full account of the excavations at Veii will be published in the *Monumenti Antichi* in 1924. It is being prepared by Professor G. Q. Giglioli, who has succeeded Colini as director of the Museo Villa Giulia. Until this appears the only record which refers at all to the periods discussed in our volume is a brief preliminary paper from the pen of Colini himself, published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1919. This is a posthumous memoir, for the gifted author had died, to the immense regret of all who knew his work, in the preceding summer. It contains numerous valuable hints and suggestions, but does not of course profess to enter into any detailed description. Between 1913 and 1916 about 1,200 graves were excavated in different parts of the necropolis which surrounds the ancient city. They range from the First Benacci period to the sixth century, and form a most important consecutive series which it is very instructive to compare with the products of other sites in Southern Etruria, especially Corneto. Apparently about half the entire number of graves were pozzetti belonging to Villanovans. From these a certain number of tomb-

groups are already on exhibition, though the greater part of the material is stowed away until the new rooms are ready to receive it. The results obtained from the pozzetti seem to be perfectly consistent with what has been written in the text of this volume, but no doubt they will add a considerable amount of detail. They ought to be compared point by point with the description of the Etrurian Villanovans given in our third chapter.

Together with the pozzetti were inhumation graves, which begin at a very early date and become more common, says Colini, towards the orientalizing period. I can in no way subscribe however to his implied opinion that the frequency of inhumation depends primarily upon date. On the contrary I believe that it can always be explained by a sufficiently close analysis of the nature of each settlement. Accordingly I suggest that at Veii and all other sites where the two burial rites occur together it is imperative to study each individual cemetery or group of graves as a unit and not to fuse the results into an indistinguishable complex.

The inhumation graves of Veii, so far as exhibited at present, yield more new and important information than the pozzetti, and are especially valuable for the latter half of the Second Benacci period when they overlap in date with the Villanovan. Common to graves of both rites is the abundant and varied geometric pottery, of which two examples have been figured in Plate 33, nos. 9, 10. And in graves of both rites there are also found bronze girdles of the simpler kind, bronze navicella fibulae, horse-bits, bronze axes, and semi-lunar razors. Gold too, though more common in the inhumation graves, occurs in one or two pozzetti. Its earliest use on this site seems to be as a wrapping of wire round the central core of a navicella fibula; but in some inhumation graves there are also spirals of gold wire and small plaques of gold leaf stamped with bosses, as well as handsome fibulae made of wedges of amber alternating with bands of gold. Characteristic and important products of the inhumation graves are a cylinder of rock-crystal, blue-glass beads with white eyes or yellow eyes, bronze fibulae inlaid with studs of amber, iron swords of the Vetulonian and Cornetan types (like Plate 13, nos. 5, 7), bronze spears and iron spears.

The finest of all the tomb groups is one which I should ascribe to the end of the eighth century, as it seems to approximate in character rather to the Vetulonian than to the Regolini-Galassi series, containing no orientalizing products nor any pottery so late as the seventh-century proto-Corinthian. It is the burial of a warrior, whose circular bronze shield, crested helmet, and iron spear, have been preserved intact, as well as numerous bronze articles of horses' equipment, a bronze water jar and tripod like those shown in Plate 34, nos. 9, 10, a bronze bowl, an exceptionally fine 'porta-vivande' and a gold belt-clasp. From tombs belonging to the seventh century should be observed an important series of proto-Corinthian vases of various shapes, viz. jugs, skyphoi, and aryballoi. They ought to be studied and compared with a remarkable series of pre-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery from the most recent excavations at Caere, at present exhibited in a neighbouring room, the report on which will shortly be published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*. A close comparative study of these two sites would do much to elucidate the difficult history of the pre-Corinthian and Corinthian Schools.

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PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

